/116 cont./

361 scanty knowledge, their population varies between 200 and 300.
161 Whereas there in the unexplored south organizational forms for
[621] larger numbers of people have evidently developed, the socio-
logical system of the Waika is organized for only the above-named
figure of a hundred village inhabitants; a surplus of births is
answered by village partition.

628 The politically independent villages are partners in war and
peace and for trading and visiting, and the momentary, frequently
changing relationships of the villages to one another give the
political situation in Waika territory its stamp. Let us first look
721 at the hostile relationships. Affairs involving women are for the
[583] most part the cause of war; if a wife is sought in other villages,
and if the offer is turned down, one resorts to abducting a woman.
Once there has been bloodshed in quarrels originating from this,
the war is self-perpetuating: the original cause has not been for-
gotten, to be sure, but because of its slight intensity in the con-
ceptual world it in no way suffices as a motive for the continuation
726 of the war. Rather, what does not permit breaking the chain of
attacks repeated at intervals of a few months, in which the enemy
men are killed, but the women abducted, /117/ is ideas and analogous
728 to blood revenge. Concluding peace is possible only when there has
been no bloodshed for a long period of time, and hostile relations
628 often last for generations. Thus Waika country is covered with a
network of hostile relationships of varying degrees, and, picking
a village at random, one can distinguish a series of villages that
are friendly, benevolently indifferent, neutral, sympathetic with
[726] the enemy, and, finally, completely hostile. For no two villages,
however, is this series completely identical; there are no ex-
tensive alliances; war is an affair of the individual village, and a
friendly village is aided only if there are personal reasons for
hostility. No Waika village is without an enemy, and because
of the many crisscrossings of the degrees of relationships the
political situation is extremely complicated. We therefore see
that even on the broadest social plane -- that of the people as
a cultural and linguistic whole -- there is a very pronounced

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574 628 on the morning of departure, return to their own village. In contrast to this hastily accomplished visiting by small groups or even individuals, there is the migration of whole villages. During the 796 great palm-fruit festival, which takes place in February and of which I shall show you a film in a few days, the villages visit each other, which is often done in such a way that the two villages celebrate first in the settlement of the one and the other. The various above-mentioned purposes of this intervillage intercourse [184] are naturally combined in practice. The trading and visiting trips are responsible for the remarkable cultural unity of the Waika region, and the consciousness of this in the minds of the inhabitants.

574 On the other hand, in many cases they are the occasion and op- 721 portunity for quarrels and warfare; refusal to trade and refusal of 628 a girl lead at least to ill feeling, and, as was reported to us, neutral villages are sometimes invited to the palm-fruit festival solely for the purpose of attacking the men at a favorable moment in order to kill them and keep the women as booty. The language has a special word for this type of hostile act, and the procedure was described to us in detail, so there can be no doubt about its occasional occurrence.

628 In summary, the following may be said about the intervillage 182 relations presented in brief form. The balance between the two tendencies, the binding one and the separative one, both of which -- probably in correspondence to each other -- are expressed in remarkably vivid form, stamps the picture of the political organization in Waika country. The separative forces, in that they protect the detachment of the villages, prevent the formation of alliances on a wider scale, which could lead to political ascendancy, to regional groupings, to divisions -- in any case to a political unit extending beyond the village. Thus, in a cultural sense, these separative forces act indirectly in the same direction as the binding ones: both promote and maintain cultural homogeneity in a large territory. For since the individual villages are too weak to detach themselves from the leveling tensions /Verspannung/ with their neighbors, but, on the other hand, lasting, stable alliances cannot be achieved, political and cultural divisions

Surára
Pakidái

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and by de la Neuville and Biet about some of the mainland Karaiben /Carib/ (337). The Surára and Pakidái, on the other

337. Lafitau, 1724, II, pp. 444 ff.

hand, are of the opinion that the soul existing in the bones is able to travel up to the moon only if the flesh has decayed beforehand, and there is now nothing to prevent the soul's withdrawal.

The custom of hanging the corpse in the open until it decays is also documented as early as the seventeenth century, but not in connection with another form of burial. There are statements about this by Coreal concerning the Chevelus (Amaguaxe or Encabellados -- members of the Tukano /Tucano/ linguistic family) who lived on both sides of the Putumayo: "They do not bury their dead at all, but hang them in the open until the flesh decays: after that they keep the bones as Relics" /translated from the French/ (338).

338. Coreal, 1722, I, p. 292.

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5. War -- nĩanyu --

The Yanonámi /Yanoama/, as has been mentioned above (see p. 13), are split into two antagonistic camps, the Xiriána /Shiriana/ and the Waiká /Waica/, with their smaller satellite tribes. There is constant, open hostility between these two "power blocs," on the one hand, and toward outside enemies (Karaiben /Carib/ and Aruaken /Arawak/) on the other. They accuse each other of a propensity for thievery and /74/ attribute every sickness and every death to sorcery on the part of members of hostile tribes. Hence blood revenge -- noyú -- plays a very great role. The chief cause of all wars, however, is connected with the fact that they feel it necessary to abduct women and girls of hostile tribes and groups, in order to bring new blood into their own tribal unit. Since many tribes are comparatively small, increasing relationship by marriage already requires exogamy to a certain

Surára, Pakidái

619 /74 cont./
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extent (339), and friendly tribal units are therefore in a connubium.

339. Zerries reports the same thing about the Waikâ (Zerries, 1956a, p. 186).

In time, however, strong ties of kinship again develop here, so that finally, and also as a result of the preference for polygyny, there is a real shortage of women, which is felt very painfully by the
726 men as yet unmarried (340). For this reason, as I was told by in-
[835]

340. The fact that for younger, unmarried men sexual intercourse with the wives of their older brothers is permitted may be connected with this.

formants, they now and then make raids on hostile tribes, which
[619] take place at dawn without any declaration of war (341). Surára
[171]

341. The descriptions of the war expeditions of the Karaiben /Carib/ which Richard Schomburgk (Richard Schomburgh, 1848, II, p. 321) and Appun (Appun, 1871, p. 447) write sound very similar.

and Pakidái warriors, however, must also take part in raids proposed
[624] by the Xiriâna. They are always led by the war chief (the chief,
[622] his brother, and sons do not take part in military actions (see p. 129), nor do women (342)), and they set out on the day before the
[171]

342. Richard Schomburgk and Koch-Grünberg report that among a few Karaiben tribes women take part in war expeditions as porters. (Richard Schomburgk, 1848, II, p. 322; Koch-Grünberg, 1923a, p. 103).

[302] proposed raid. All the participants paint horizontal serpentine lines on their bodies and faces with urucú. This is the typical war painting, for in peacetimes the serpentine lines are always applied vertically (343). In the vicinity of the hostile maloka they

343. With reference to the Karaiben, too,

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648 /182 cont./ the last Makiritare stronghold south of the Serranía. The Yanoama, however, by their own strength, were able to contain the advance of the Caribe in the northeastern part of their territory.

M
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648 The massacre of the Indians to which we have made reference above was pointed out by Schomburgk (1841), who visited this land around 1839, /183/ and his data constitute the first report regarding the Yanoama of the north. Schomburgk had crossed the Sierra Pacarima when, on the way to the sources of the Orinoco, he found the Makiritare in the grip of great panic. The Yanoama, possibly a group of Waica, had killed a number of Makiritare who had been on their way to the Yanoama rancherías in order to establish commercial relations with them. A short time after that horrible massacre, the same Yanoama attacked a Makiritare rancheria with the intent of exterminating all its inhabitants. This event marked the date of the withdrawal of all the Makiritare south of this zone. Even the Caribe companions who were with Schomburgk accompanied them on their flight, abandoning him with his baggage a short distance from the sources of the Orinoco. It is easy to understand Schomburgk's emotional state, bordering on desperation, on finding himself so close to his goal without being able to reach it.

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Y
114 On the upper Uraricuera, in the region of the Sierra Marutani, Schomburgk came upon a conuco /cultivated area/ of the "Kirishanas," whom he described as nomad Indians who depended primarily on hunting, fishing, and the gathering of wild fruits for their basic sustenance; some, however, cultivated small plantings of bitter yuca and peppers (Schomburgk, 1841, p. 417). Seventy-two years after this first report, Koch-Grünberg, in December of 1911, once again established brief communication with the Yanoama of this zone, and his information constituted, until a few years ago, the most important material on the Yanoama in general. Koch-Grünberg met representatives of two distinct groups. The first group (Casapare), which he found at the Purumamé Falls, lived at that time on the upper Uraricapará, although it had only recently arrived in that region from the Uraricuera, above the island of Maraca. That was the place where they took by surprise all the Indians whom they robbed and killed.

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/203 cont./

291 Fig. 11) for the Surará and Pakidai (cf. Koch-Grünberg, 1923,
301 Pl. 45). As adornment the girls sometimes wear cords on their
237 arms and legs or bands across their chests. White and multi-
colored feathers are frequently tied to these cords or bands by the
531 women as much as by the men. The women paint various
302 geometric figures on their bodies, and we observed a typical de-
[386] sign in zigzag form which the women wore on their cheeks. The pigment was red (made from onoto) or blue, made from a fruit which the Sanemá call taarimóg, with which the women paint one another's cheeks. The design is the same as the one which they on occasion paint on the stones which surround the camp and which was identified with the path of the sun and of the moon. They say that the sun is happy /204/ to see these designs. A very similar design which we saw on the face of a woman was interpreted for us as "path of the moon." We were not able to verify with any certainty whether some relationship between menstruation and this design exists for them.

● 721 Before entering upon belligerent relations with an enemy,
302 the warriors paint their bodies with onoto. They believe that
[789] this practice assures good aim and protects them from the arrows
[624] of the enemy. As we have mentioned before, in time of war the Sanemá take orders from a war chief who is different from the one who is in command in time of peace.

727 A warrior who kills an enemy returns very slowly to his
774 home, because the "dead person weighs heavily on his chest." They believe that the híkula of the dead person is inside the chest of the victor. In there he tries to persuade the man to
[785] "eat a lot." But the warrior resists this and fasts for several weeks, for otherwise the híkula of the dead person would kill him too. After this time has passed the híkula of the enemy goes out to his
725 fate. It would seem that the most effective war tactic is to surprise the enemy at dawn when he is asleep. We did not see Sanemá rancherías fortified with palisades, as we did in other Yanoama subtribes.

224 The Sanemá, like the Yanoama in general, are excellent hunters, and many traits of their culture indicate a deep tradition in this lore.

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

There were often piles of *huamoshi* heaped up underneath trees much too big and too tall for me to have climbed, even had I been dying of hunger. The *huamoshi* is a queer, oval-shaped nut with a big, woody husk enclosed in a compact mass of tiny, needle-sharp spines that resemble the crystals of certain mineral forms of asbestos. It takes some opening, but once open offers man the rich enjoyment of a soft white nut running with a creamy milk.

The consumption of these nuts sets a real problem in logistics and psychology. Transport over any distance is hampered by the exorbitant weight of the shells, a weight which the Indians with their extremely practical minds consider to be out of proportion to the food value of the nut, high though this is. But once the nuts are shelled, there are the piles of gleaming white grains, so attractive that no one can resist them and they are devoured without a thought for the mothers' milk or the strength of the children's blood. Without a doubt, this matter of the *huamoshi* represents one of the outstanding problems of the Samatari provisioning-march and still awaits a satisfactory solution.

VII

The difference in taste between the two races—Shirians and bearded men—comes out most emphatically in their appreciation of the various fruits. There is one particular kind which the Shirians adore—in fact, deify: they will even go to war over the picking of it and those who fall on the battlefield are deemed martyrs and saints.

For the Shirians, Saint Carpoforo lives incarnate in the miraculous, the almost mythical *lahsa*; while we, the bearded ones, would sooner identify him with the *sopah*, which is a blend of fig, strawberry and mulberry. The *lahsa* grows on the Corozo palm, one of the tallest of the palm trees, which is covered with long and terrible thorns that keep the monkeys far away from its forbidden fruit. Beneath the thorns there is a sweet liquid—palm wine. It can be obtained by lighting a fire at the base of the tree, so that all the juices collect together towards the top of the palm, near the growing part. The tree is then felled, and a little skilful surgery will drain the liquid, which ferments readily. But the Samatari do not indulge in this practice: some deep and ancient wisdom, though they are scarcely conscious of it, has given them the simplest possible commandment about drinking: thou shalt drink only water. Nor does

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

the poison has time to spread and enter the bloodstream. The Samatari go off to war with masses of these poisoned arrows and a cane quiver slung across their shoulders. This contains spare arrow-heads which can be quickly attached to the arrows arriving in a stream from the enemy. Every fighter carries his own ammunition, but the weapons are really the common property of friend and foe alike.

There is one other widely used weapon, and a deadly one it is—a heavy wooden club for use on the cranium in close-combat conditions, such as usually arise at the end of the battle when the ammunition is exhausted and the antagonists have worked themselves up into a fine frenzy. Then the hand-to-hand fighting excels in ferocity, but the blood scattered on the ground is misleading—the actual mortality rate is very low. Tremendous whacks on the head are exchanged, that lay the scalp open right down to the bone. But cracking the cranium itself is not so easy: Samatari heads are harder than Corozo palm.

One may well ask why the Indians are forever fighting these wars, but this is to put the question a little too ingenuously. The answer can only be that it is their mode of life—just as it is other people's mode of life not to keep on fighting. There are vendettas as old as their race itself, fanned by their belief in the evil eye of the witch doctors who can cause the death of children and spread sickness through the tribe. Fear is the underlying cause, at the origin of these vendettas and at the origin of all origins; fear that is the very condition, the very breath of existence for primitive man in the inhuman, unhuman forest regions that set their stamp on all who live in them. Fear gives birth to these bloody encounters, which a little cool-headedness could transform into the meeting of friends. We ourselves owed our salvation to the fact that we hadn't fought back. We had a certain confidence too, over and above the passing moment of fear, a certain faith in the essential goodness of man.

But apart from fear and the vendettas which grow out of it, there is one native activity which just as easily leads to war: theft. Theft is the activity in which the Shirians excel, their way of living. Everything that can further their nomadic existence is torn out of the earth, the trees and the animals. The process means effort and struggle, always more or less exhausting and unsafe. It follows logically that if anything they basically need belongs to other men, they will take it from them, too. The tribe on the river so-and-so possesses a machete, or a knife—perhaps the result of long bargaining with their neighbours, or, more often, of a highly successful bit of burglary and some

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

721 [685] skirmishing. After several days' howling and shrieking, an expedition is decided on. It is not certain that a battle will yield the desired utensil or object, but then, it is never certain that a hunt will fill the pot, and many a tree looks promising and then turns out to be barren, or to have no ripe fruit. But a good, just war, the Samatari think—and all their wars are just—always produces something worth fighting for, even if the immediate result isn't one that would [754] strike the impartial observer as advantageous. For even if the encounter produces only negative results, the enemy will henceforth go in fear and it will be a long time before their witch-doctors or magic-men dare to strike at the children again with their black arts of death.

And in addition to all these lines of reasoning, savages cannot grasp, as we can, the notion of victory or defeat, for this means first differentiating war from ordinary normal modes of life and treating it as a special occasion with its own scale of values. For the Indians, war is just one of the facts of life, like the harvest. Its result has no direct value, in so far as that result can always be changed by another war, and so on, *ad infinitum*.

III

*123 When we were not on the march I attended to the sick—an activity which soon grew to such dimensions that I found myself in charge of a full-scale open-air clinic, with a meek queue of patients waiting their turn to see the doctor, and an orderly to help me. The start of it all was the mournful bent old man who came along to us morning, noon and night, pointing to his kidneys and wailing '*Nini, nini*'—'Bad, bad.' We had fortunately succeeded in getting back the three or four tins containing our medical supplies, which included a good deal of terramycin presented to us by the manufacturers in exchange for the samples of earth we were to bring back. I imagined that in the case of people like the Samatari, who were completely unaccustomed to any drug at all, an antibiotic should have a very positive effect. In fact, the old fellow definitely improved after taking a few capsules. He was far less bent as he walked and no longer complained that he felt '*nini*'.

This must have been an excellent advertisement for us, because a great many patients began to come forward—most of them not showing any sign of suffering from anything at all. Then they began to understand that we treated wounds

6: Vinci T-5 (1950) 1959 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18
Sanema

a torrid sun or the cold dankness of the forest after dark, the Indians are especially subject to respiratory troubles, bronchitis and chronic catarrh being common. It must be a short step from these to tuberculosis, to judge by the widespread incidence of the latter, though it is worth recording that among the Samatari themselves the disease does not appear to have reached the same alarming proportions as among the Taurepàn of the Eastern uplands, where it is a real scourge. Their name for it is an onomatapoeic one—*toctocmòh*—suggesting the coughing and catarrhal effects of any malady of the respiratory system, to which the word is applied.

They are more afraid of tuberculosis than of any war, or any surprise attack at night. Tribes infected with *toctocmòh* become taboo, and by the same token immune from attack, because their enemies are more afraid of their tuberculosis than their arrows. I was told this by Uarema, who said that some time ago a party of their enemies (of unspecified origin) set out to attack them. They had already been several days on the march when they learned that the Guayca were suffering from a bad epidemic of colds and catarrh. They gave up their idea of attacking them, and returned to their own lands.

Wounds infected by insects can be quickly cured, the reason being that with these primitive Indians the defence-mechanism is vigorous and reacts immediately when assisted by antibiotics or sulphonamides. In this connection I have often determined by experiment the relative healthiness of the forest compared with the unhealthiness of the grasslands or savannah lying open to the sun. In the forest, damp and mouldering like some subterranean world, wounds rarely become infected, even if they are not kept clean.

I once fell down on a clay hillside, in the Upper Cuyuni country, with a machete in my hand. It was pouring with rain and everything was covered with mud and very slippery. The machete stuck into the ground as I fell forward, and my hand—as happens in the case of a fall like this—automatically tightened on the tool to help me regain my balance and slid along the blade, which was always kept razor-sharp. I had three fingers cut open right through the middle joint, the muscles and tendons being severed. We had nothing with us, not even a clean handkerchief. I at once closed my hand and bound up the fist with a bit of old rag. We then spent some days making our way down to the base-camp where we had our medicines and disinfectants. There I opened my fist, to find the cuts miraculously closed up, without the slightest sign of any infection. A

/470 cont./

512 men. Some of them sing in singsong voices to influence the
[276] spirits, while others wander around like drunks. A few do not take any "yopo" at all. These "yopo" cantilenas generally last for about two hours.

In the afternoon a few more women, including some of those who were in the conuco in the morning, go out to look for /471/ firewood. Other women devote themselves to spinning cotton. At about 5:00 in the afternoon the women and girls go down to the stream to fill all the gourds or totumas.

[824] A little before dark, the evening meal ends. Palm leaves
[721] are placed so as to obstruct the entrances to the paths against
[176] the coming of wandering spirits and also to make greater difficulty for any attacking band coming from an enemy settlement. Every house lights its own fire and prepares for the night. At about 7:00 P.M. all is silent.

[535] But if the moon comes out, the women and children may
[533] continue singing and dancing until well into the night. Or when
[203] there are visitors who arrived during the day, there might be
[594] crooning of news throughout the night, until the coming of the sun puts an end to it.

Names

553 Every individual receives a name given by his parents. Un-
551 til the child receives a name, he is called by any of the standard names that are applied to small children. The use of these standard names is usually prolonged for several years after the boy or girl has received his own name. It is taboo to give one person the name of another. There are no homonyms or namesakes. An individual might be given the name of a plant, an animal, an action, an aspect, or sometimes simply be given some name invented by his parents.

551 Nicknames are given freely. Some have a root, others do not. Usually they are very descriptive and frequently very biting.

It is not good manners to call a person by his name, if it can be avoided. It is always better to say: the older brother of so-and-so, the older sister of so-and-so, the husband of so-and-so, the father of so-and-so, or the mother of so-and-so.

/473 cont./

583 628 To a suitor who does not obtain the consent of the girl's settlement there is no other path but to look for a wife elsewhere or to try to abduct the girl in order to make her his /474/ wife. If he decides to do this latter, he gathers together his sympathizers; these are mostly men of the suitor's own settlement, although other friends may also help him. The group attempts to take the girl prisoner at a careless moment, carrying her off by force. The friends of the girl come to help her, starting a hand-to-hand fight. If the suitor manages to flee with the girl, she becomes his wife, but if he fails, he cannot make another attempt at abduction without then being considered a real enemy, and as such he will run the risk of being shot with an arrow and not simply have to put on a fight.

If a settlement decides not to accept the abduction committed for one of its girls for matrimonial purposes, a call for help can be made to a neighboring settlement, all of the men [411] gathering in a band, ready to recover her. The weapons used on such a raid are smooth poles about six feet long, intended not to kill the opponent, but to knock him down, leaving him hors de combat. If such a raid is successful, the girl is returned to her parents. And if the raid fails, any new attempt to recover the girl involves the risk of the attackers' being shot with arrows, since they would then be considered as true enemies. Both the men and the women can fight on the defense in case of such a raid.

A suitor alone or with the help of a few friends may succeed in carrying out the abduction of a wife, generally by finding the girl practically alone and carrying her off to his own settlement. In such cases the settlement of the abductor cannot back him, obliging him to return the woman to her parents rather than to lose their friends in her settlement.

• 721 302 When a raid to a truly hostile settlement is planned for the purpose of abducting a wife or other objects of value, each one of the members of the attacking band paints himself entirely 726 black or dark maroon. For such raids the weapons are the bow [411] and arrows, and, when the fight starts, both groups shoot to kill. Should the attacking band be small, it can only hope to capture some girl or woman who is alone in her "conuco" or /475/ cutting wood in the forest. Then it will try to escape with the

/151/

Raids among the Guaika

By James Barker (*)

114

* Mr. James Barker has prepared this work as a result of his many years with the Guaika /Waica/ Indians of the Upper Orinoco, Venezuela. In this Boletín (Year I, Vol. I, Caracas, June-December, 1953, Nos. 3-4, pp. 433-489 /see 7: Barker, this file/) he presented a report of his observations under the title of "Memoria sobre la cultura Guaika /Memoir on the Culture of the Waica/." The present work is the result of his observations, which, revealed in an objective and simple manner, are of positive value for ethnologists and ethnographers.

121 I have been asked for more information about the raid. As I am not sure of which one I am asked about, I will tell about several, especially those about which I have quite detailed information.

574 628 In February of 1951 the aldea of Liacoatjeti invited the aldea of Bisheasetjeti to a Pijiguao or palm festival. The men of Liacoatjeti had gone on a special hunt to get a supply of meat. There was to have been an abundance of every type of food. There were to have been special dances, the taking of yopo, and other things which they do on such festive occasions.

574 628 721 But the invitation was a trick which those of Liatcoatjeti /sic/ had planned in order to be able to kill, if possible, all of the men of Bisheasetjeti and capture their women. Batanoetjeti and other aldeas which were enemies of Bisheasetjeti were invited to hide outside of the aldea and shoot at any man who tried to get away. Since they did not need to feed anybody, the Liacoatjeti did not bother to go hunting.

/152/

574 628 721 [262] [411] The majority of those from the aldea of Bisheasetjeti accepted the invitation. They entered Liatcoatjeti, hanging their hammocks from the trees, and they were served a soup made of boiled ripe plantains. Then suddenly they were attacked with axes, machetes, and other weapons. The leaders and the oldest were attacked first, and most of them died, but many of the younger men managed to escape, dropping everything and running for their lives. The enemies who were lying in wait outside also took the same road as those who had fled from the aldea.

727 The majority of the women were captured, but at the first opportunity all of the older ones escaped and returned to Bisheasetjeti. But the younger girls were afraid to run away, and for that reason most of them are now the wives of the men of Liacoatjeti or of their friends.

628 731 [499] The aldea of Majecototjeti (Platanal) was short of food. They constructed a bridge over the Orinoco and crossed it to make a visit to Bisheasetjeti and stay until their own farms might be able to produce more food. The people of Majecototjeti came to Bisheasetjeti just at the moment when those who had managed to escape were arriving and reassembling.

628 411 721 A messenger was sent to Yabitjaotjeti for arrows, and about six or seven boys from Yabitjaotjeti came with him, each one carrying a large bundle of darts /dardos, darts, lances/. These were quickly put together and their points put on. Bisheasetjeti was rearmed, and Majecototjeti better armed than before and

166 722 628 ready to attack. The site of the aldea of Bisheasetjeti was abandoned at this time, for fear that the enemies might follow them to it. Both aldeas lived on what was produced by that of the Majecotatjeti /sic/. They crossed the Orinoco every three days to obtain a load of bananas from the farm located on the north bank.

One of the times when they came to get food, they found that the river had carried off the bridge. No one had a boat, and they could not cross. About three days later the men of Majecototjeti returned to the river and built their houses on the cleared place of the aldea. Meanwhile they lived in the forest

000 near there. One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,

722 /152 cont./ One day, that is to say after the aldea was ready,
499 the Bisheasetjeti also crossed; the bridge was /153/ cut by them near the bank. Guards were placed to keep a lookout for the enemy, should he try to repair the bridge and cross it.

727 Much after this, a raid was made on Liacoatjeti by some
● [721] of the Bisheasetjeti and the Majecotjeti /sic/; "Jaiyeota," one of the Majecototjeti, shot one of them and killed him. A boy of four or five years of age was captured. One of the men from Majecototjeti, "Ushiu," took the boy and cared for him. All of the children were bothering the little one, calling him enemy and acting as if they were going to shoot him. One day, after this had gone on for a while, a young man from Bisheasetjeti shot the child near the water spring. He shot the arrow so hard that it passed through him. Ushiu gave the child a funeral, but none of the other inhabitants of the aldea came to the "lloro" /weeping/, because they said, "After all, he was an enemy."

628 The two aldeas had some bad times together. Often, when
721 they were in the forest, they had to come running back, feeling
578 sick. Frequently their ribs were showing. During this time
[164] several died of a strange fever which kept the victim hot day and night without relief. Others were very sick with the fever, and it
[361] was feared that they would also die. The two aldeas of Bisheasetjeti and Majecototjeti lived together for a year, until those of Bisheasetjeti made a new "farm" /granja/ down the Orinoco, on the other side of the Manaviche River. When they separated, friction caused by some women had reached such a point that the Majecototjeti summoned the Macolimutjeti, and both of them made a raid on Bisheasetjeti to recover the wife of a Majecototjeti who had gone to live with a Bisheasetjeti. One family did not take part in this raid and by its friendly and frequent visits prevented the two aldeas from shooting at each other.

628 Another incident of friction was that a young man from
578 Majecototjeti stole a Bisheasetjeti woman from her husband.
837 When the husband had almost persuaded his wife to come back with him, the Majecototjeti man shot him in the back with a bone-pointed arrow and kept the woman. The Bisheasetjeti man was seriously wounded, but recovered.

/153 cont./

628 In January of 1952, while many of those from the aldea of
584 Yoeitjeti were visiting in Majecototjeti, a group of men from
/154/ Shibaatía-tjeti came and inquired about "Macluma," about giving her in matrimony to a man from Shibaatía-tjeti, who was already married to her older sister. "Macluma" had just passed puberty, and "Yajicocoue," the husband of the other older sister of "Macluma," also wanted her. The grandmother of "Macluma" persuaded her not to go off with the man from Shibaatía-tjeti unless she never wanted to see her again.

That night the Shibaatía-tjeti suitor asked for Macluma in "singing" fashion, while talking with "Shinaocaoue," the chief /capitán/ of Majecototjeti. The chief called him "old man." He told the chief that if he obtained her, he would be good to her, he would not put fire on her or beat her. I am not sure what conclusion they reached, although I suspect that the chief refused to give her to him.

628 On the following afternoon the men of Shibaatía-tjeti
583 caught "Macluma" outside of the aldea and tried to take her off
584 by force, in what the Yonomama /Yanoama/ call a "shaimau." The Majecototjeti women came to rescue her, and a group got into a fight and into a "rope fight" /lucha de cuerda/ over "Macluma." This lasted for several hours. The men of Yoeitjeti and I myself stood to one side and watched, but did not take part. Finally, the women managed to carry "Macluma" back to her house, and things quieted down.

The men of Shibaatía-tjeti said that they would come back for "Macluma." The men of Majecototjeti said, "If you do, we will shoot you."

After that, when the Shibaatía-tjeti visited them, at most there were groups of two or three.

721 In October of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came one evening
[411] at nightfall and shot a poisoned arrow at a boy, "Bosalima," who was standing at the entrance to the aldea. The wound was not very deep, but was several inches long.

123 /154 cont./

●721 At this moment Dave London and I were taking a /155/ bath in a stream about 100 meters from the aldea. We heard a lot of shouting and crying. A few minutes later a couple of men from Majecototjeti came toward us, saying, "Come look, raiders," while they pointed toward the aldea. These men did not go on, carrying only a bunch of plantains and their weapons.

[752] We dressed rapidly and went to the aldea. Most of the men had gone off in pursuit of the raiders. The women were pour-
[755] ing water on the wound, while the sorcerer sang over it. Soon all of the reserve water of the aldea was used up. They asked us if we could help them. We called Ed Killiam, who brought his snakebite kit and sucked out the wound with it, until we did not dare do any more for fear of his losing too much blood, since he was bleeding freely. We also prayed.

The boy almost stopped breathing, but after an hour and a half he began to come around. Soon after this he got up and went to his house; the paralyzing effect of the curare on the
726 lungs had passed. The pursuit of the raiders continued all night and across the uppermost part of the Manaviche River. In some way the chief and "Yelequei-jûu" managed to pass some of the raiders. Two boys came back, hungry and looking for wild fruits. They found some wild cacao and stopped to eat it. At this moment the chief wounded "Dujuue" in the abdomen with a wide arrow-point of bamboo. His companion wounded the other young man in the arm.

726 (If you asked a Yanomama what he would do if he were
763 wounded and knew that he was going to die, he would strike a
183 pose which is supposed to represent bravery, and he would also state the brave words which he would say.)

But "Dujuue" did not do this. Knowing that he was going to die, he sat down, calling for his mother. The Shibaatfa-tejeti later recovered his decomposed body and took it to the aldea to
[764] burn it. The other wounded young man recovered. The Majecototjeti told them that both had died, until /156/ visitors from Boletjaotjeti came and told them that the other young man had recovered.

/156 cont./

721 123 In December of 1953 the Shibaatía-tjeti came back to make another raid, accompanied by the Comishibueitjeti. But the Majecototjeti had camped outside, on the other side of the river. Some of the Shibaatía-tjeti approached us carrying an arrow, but leaving their bows in the woods with the other men. They explained that they were friendly visitors and asked where the Majecototjeti were, because they were supposed to visit them. [302] [594] [822] But their black war-paint showed that they had come on a raid. (Visitors are painted with red or mulberry color, but not black.) When they saw that they were not going to get us to tell them where the people were, they asked us to give them matches and [412] fishhooks. They gave us in exchange some knives made of tooth. After this things calmed down, but from this time on the people [361] of Majecototjeti have lived inside their palisades when they were near their main farm.

166 361 721 The people of Majecototjeti started a new farm called "Joitja-tjeca" to the south of the Orinoco, where they could live without palisades and feel safe from raids by the Shibaatía-tjeti. The Majecototjeti did not plan any retaliatory raid, because they said, "None of our men have been killed."

727 361 [114] In September of 1954 I had camped with the Majecototjeti at their new farm to the south of the Orinoco River. Everybody was calmer there, and they seemed to feel freer than at any time since the first raid by the Shibaatía-tjeti had put them on the alert almost a year before.

222 Anyone who wished to do so could go out and gather fruit, [226] [411] [859] fish, or hunt crabs, even in small groups. The boys were having fun shooting at the fish in the many streams with their little arrows of split palm shoots and bows made of a curved stick and a piece of twisted bark. It was the season of the moriche fruit, and the /157/ women went out almost every day and came back carrying 726 baskets full of this fruit. One afternoon about 1:00 P.M. some came to the aldea and said that a great number of tracks had been seen not far from the aldea. A group of men went out to investigate.

/158 cont./

726 That night some of our missionaries were camped outside in a
114 casa abierta /"open house"/. Suddenly they were awakened by a group of Yanomama men, who were standing and looking at our missionaries, without saying anything. They all were painted
[302] black, as though to make it impossible to recognize them by the light of the evening, or in the lesser light of the night. Finally the silence was broken, and the men of Majecototjeti told them that they were looking for the raiders who had killed the man and the boy and had carried off the four women. Our people had seen nothing of the raiders and were enormously surprised at the news.

726 The following morning the men went to the place of the attack and brought the arrows which were there. They did not bring back the complete arrows, but only the ends with the feathers. The arrows were not cut, but burned in two. The poisoned points were brought also. The men carefully examined the arrows and tried to make out from what aldea the raiders had come. The arrows looked like those of the Liacoatjeti, but they had seen a machete in that place, and who could imagine a Liacoatjeti leaving a machete, even in a moment of danger.

There was also a rumor that a bark canoe had been found some distance down the river. Probably the Shibaatía-tjeti had crossed the river in this canoe. (This rumor later turned out to be false.)

A search was carried out in a large circle in every direction to try to find out what direction the raiders had taken. Finally the track was found, and the Liacoatjeti were then recognized as the raiders, and they had come from the south. Their path had been made so as to cover the tracks, leaving the formation one by one and reassembling farther on.

• 721 The Majecototjeti planned, in turn, a raid of /159/ revenge. First a banquet was held with tapir meat and cassava to eat with the meat. A day or so later the men marched off on a raid of revenge against the Liacoatjeti. The Majecototjeti had gone off two weeks before, but had not found the Liacoatjeti in their houses.

727 "Jolocoine," a boy with a broken leg who had stayed with
[123] us, asked us to pray to God to send "Etemi" (one of the abducted women) home safe and sound.

/159 cont./

727 women) home safe and sound. A few days after the Majecototjeti returned from their attempted raid, "Etemi" returned. When she returned, the whole aldea went back to the north bank of the Orinoco River, in case they were being followed.

She told how it was that she had had a chance to walk in front of an old woman, and, getting somewhat out in front along the way, she was able to get off the path without being seen and had returned.

We marveled at our little faith. Why had we not prayed to God to bring them all back?

721 The chief repeatedly called meetings for raids to get revenge on the Liatcoatjeti. Usually the aldeas of Bisheasetjeti
[628] and Macolimutjeti accompanied the Majecototjeti on their raids. Our missionaries and some of the believers and the Yanomama prayed together that the raiders would not kill anybody or lose any of their own. Once they did not find anybody in the houses. Another time they became lost and for lack of food had to return home. Another time the whole group was so sick that they had to return, having covered only a few days of travel from their point
721 of departure. When a Yanomama aldea or several aldeas are about
726 to go on a raid, they hold an impressive ceremony. They make one or several effigies which represent the enemy. Then a simulated raid is acted out, in which these effigies are wounded, broken in two, and then thrown down. If the enemy is far away, they can do this at home and several times on the way to the enemy. Sometimes the simulated raid is carried to the point of dividing the group into two parts: one group which shoots at the effigies and then escapes (flees) with several girls from the aldea; the other group comes along a little later, /160/ finds that the women are gone, and pursues the raiders until it finds them hidden, sometimes out in the forest, with the girls. When the raiders are found, each one gives a loud war-cry and the ceremony ends.

114
721 In December of 1954 all our missionaries went down the river for our field conference, leaving the Frobenius expedition alone in Platanal. One night a man from Shibaatfa-tjeti slipped

/160 cont./

114 into the aldea of Platanal and shot at one of the men. His shot
● 721 wounded "Lublo-juu" in the thigh. Nevertheless, since he recovered, there was no gathering for a raid. The men of the Frobenius expedition treated his leg and prevented complications, since the wound was quite deep.

574 628 At the beginning of February 1955 the Macolimutjeti and the Bisheasetjeti were invited to a Pijiguao or palm (Peach) festival among the Majecototjeti. The Macolimutjeti all came, men, women, and children. But the Bisheasetjeti were somewhat afraid. The Majecototjeti had been somewhat friendly with the Batanoatjeti, bitter enemies of the Bisheasetjeti, and the Bisheasetjeti feared a trick. (Years before, in 1951, they had been tricked by the Liacoatitjeti.) But so as not to show their bad faith, the men came (or at least a few of them), but none of the women, in order thus to reduce the "desirability" of a trick to steal them.

726 In March of 1955 the men of Platanal had gone for a new attempt at a raid, leaving the rest of the people in the principal aldea, located to the north of the Orinoco. One day, when /illustration appears here/ /161/ all of them except the lame boy were out of the aldea, the Shibaatía-tjeti returned. They found "Joashimocaoue," who was returning from the farm at the head of the others who had gone to take advantage of the Pijiguao, or palm festival. The raiders shot him twice in the back, since he ran toward the refuge of the aldea. He was wounded by one bamboo point, not deeply, and by one point poisoned with curare, which caused a rather deep wound. In the aldea he told the lame [123] boy to hide himself from the raiders who had killed him, and then, finding no help in the aldea, he ran to our house, about 200 to 300 meters away.

/162 cont./

726 123 Then the inhabitants of the aldea began to come back from the forest. Seeing him lying motionless in a puddle of blood, each group that came supposed that he was dead, and they were mourning greatly for a few minutes, lamenting him, before those who knew what had happened were able to quiet them. Finally, one of the older men with sufficient presence of mind said that he wanted to take him to the aldea, if this were possible.

First the man tried to walk on his own feet to the aldea, but "Joashimocaoue" was very weak and in much pain, and he could not do this at all. Therefore a hammock was sent for. They tied this to a post before rolling up the wounded man in it; two men carried him to the aldea. That night he again became unconscious. Two women came and told us, "We are weeping again." I recommended to David that he stay and pray while I sent to see what could be done.

Upon arriving in the aldea, I found him unconscious in his hammock. They wanted me to put some medicine on his wounds, but there he was, unconscious. I said, "Let us pray first." Almost all of the believers who were there, and even those who had never professed to be believers, prayed with me for him. I prayed first and then they all repeated it together, asking God to spare his life. I had never seen a gathering of Yonomama praying so fervently before or since then. I do not know exactly how long we were praying, but it must have been about an hour.

/163/ When all had finished praying, we looked over and there he was, conscious again. He sat up and asked me if they had treated his wounds. I put sulfa powder on them and bandaged them. After this he did not lose consciousness again, and although his wounds were very painful, he went along well without any complications arising, although the tip of the poisoned point must still have been stuck in some part of his back.

● 721 The men of Majecototjeti returned from their raid on the Liacoatjeti without finding anyone in their houses.

123 75 [609] A little before this an old woman from Shibaatía-tjeti visited some of her Majecototjeti relatives and told them how in her aldea they did not like foreigners, because they were always curing people. When someone in the aldea was wounded, they

/165 cont./

721 In April of 1955 I found that the Bisheasetjeti had taken a girl from Vitocaiyetjeti, contrary to the desires of her aldea. Not long after this the Vitocaiyetjeti made a raid on the Bisheasetjeti to recapture the girl. The raiders managed to go 726 up the river as far as the Mavaca River, with one of the "Ceder" outfits which was working in the Yanomama territory. In the battle which followed there were a few banged heads and an abundance of broken arms, but nobody was killed. Nor did they manage to get the girl back. Now the two aldeas are threatening to shoot at each other.

623 The Vitacoiyetjeti, expecting to get help, told the Yoeitjeti that the Bisheasetjeti were also angry at them and were planning raids against them as well. They /166/ also told the Macolimutjeti that the Yoeitjeti were angry with the Bisheasetjeti, and, of course, the news reached the Bisheasetjeti.

628 On a trip of mine up the river I would stop in Bisheasetjeti.
123 The chief asked me to find out from the Bisheasetjeti whether the report was true. But the Bisheasetjeti were not at home when I passed. Nevertheless, the Majecototjeti did not know of any such intentions on the part of the Bisheasetjeti, in spite of having had several visits recently from the Bisheasetjeti.

I told this to the chief of the Yoeitjeti on my way back.

Now, in March 1956, the men and boys of Bisheasetjeti have gone down to Tamatama in canoes. But they did not stop in Yoeitjeti. The Yoeitjeti wanted to pursue them at once, but they lacked sufficient boats. Nineteen (19) men and two women from Yoeitjeti arrived at Tamatama a few days after the men of Bisheasetjeti had arrived there.

The Bisheasetjeti wanted to keep their bows when they arrived, in case their enemies might also come. But I told them to give us their bows and I would give them back when they were ready to leave.

If some other Yanomamas had come, I would also have taken their bows at the wharf in order to keep them from fighting. When the men of Bisheasetjeti saw the boat of the Yoeitjeti at a distance, they were afraid. I told them to go into my house and

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
Waica

133 But ibis in immense droves refused to be disturbed as they
123 covered each new sandbank that was born.

(136) The water was as clear as if it had been filtered, its reflection of the sun blinding. Dark patches of smooth water amid the rippled surface elsewhere betrayed the next sandbanks to uncover.

We left behind the Padamo, Ocamo and the Mavaca, and all the time the river got narrower. We passed the nights on great flat platforms of rock which got larger as the water went down; with machetes we killed fish trapped in the rocky pools left by the receding stream. A dish of ananas and fish, half-soup, half-stew, is very tasty. It is called *sancoco* and from now on became our staple diet.

123 From Esmeralda we had brought supplies of sugar, coffee, salt, some oil and four big baskets of *manioc* from which we [136] made coarse bread at all hours of the day. Several times we saw fresh water turtles clinging to the rocks and once or twice succeeded in catching one. But they are wily creatures and usually they dived before we could get near them. One we caught was handicapped by an injured foot which the men asserted was the work of a caribe. Unfortunately, it was too early for the females to be laying their eggs in the sand—they would have been manna, indeed.

123 We arrived at Platanal on November 21st to find that the
721 bridge had been cut down and learned that this had been deliberately done "for strategic reasons". The Indians greeted us like old friends and unhesitatingly took us to the village. There we found feverish activity on all sides. A boy had been kidnapped from the plantation and another killed [764] by an arrow through the chest. The corpse had been cremated amid ritual weeping and the ashes stored by the family in an urn sealed by wax. Not until the death had been avenged could they be mixed with the dust of the lad's ancestors.

[712] The men had strengthened and consolidated the fortified enclosure and cut down the screen of trees round the village. Sentries had been posted and the entry through the fortification had been concealed by palm-leaves. Women were

9:Grelier K-5 (1951) 1957 SQ18 Yanoama SQ 18
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bringing in supplies from the plantation and distributing them among the huts. They were obviously preparing for a long siege.

Barker, the missionary, told us he had thrown his shot-gun into the river to save him from having to take part. Rape, he said, was at the root of every conflict—the kidnapping of boys or girls according to whether a clan had a surplus of men or women without mates. Sometimes a young warrior had to prove himself and in such cases rape is the best method, since it tests endurance, patience, resource and skill no less than strength. [555]

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On this occasion, the women had lost all their earlier bashfulness—a group of six of them never leaving us. We had seen the eldest of them twice before, and three of the others had been in the village when we had passed through on our downstream trip. It seemed they must have vouched for our friendliness for nobody asked us for machetes and matches.

On returning to our boat we found six stalks of bananas had been put in it for us. We were sorry that we had nothing but a little *manioc* to offer in return. As we left we met three Waikas from a neighbouring clan. In honour of their hosts and doubtless to cut a good figure, each had painted himself all over with violet dye. [302]

• • •

We passed the Guaharibo Rapids at dawn on November 22nd and by the following day were at the foot of the rapids at Peñascal. We had brought lifting tackle to use where necessary, but with only four of us—and somewhat tired at that—we were anxious to avoid overland porterage wherever we could.

The falling water had uncovered acres of rocks with little channels running between, offering a safe passage through. At other times we had to assault the main channel knowing that if the engine gave out we must lose boat, provisions and equipment, if not our lives. For this reason, if ever there was enough water to float us in any subsidiary channel, we took it every time.

[pg 172 to end of book not processed]

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

YANOMAMO WARFARE, SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND MARRIAGE ALLIANCES

By Napoleon Alphonseau Chagnon

121 The purpose of this analysis is to show that the large discrepancy (over 50%) between ideal marriage rules and actual marriage practice among the Yąnomamö Indians of Southern Venezuela is necessitated by the politico-military milieu within which marriages are contracted. The data 114 covered in this thesis were collected from November 1964 through February 1966 during which time the author lived with these Indians. Inter-village warfare was chronic while the 124 field work was conducted. All the data were obtained from the Yąnomamö in their language.

162 Census data on five Yąnomamö villages are presented 897 to show that the male/female sex ratio is high. The shortage 595 of women, initially caused by female infanticide, is compli- 834 cated further by the practice of polygyny and coitus taboos 721 and is shown to be the basis of both internal and inter- 182 village fighting. Detailed historical data on village movements and warfare, collected from native informants and amplified by case materials on specific events that the author witnessed, are given to demonstrate the correlation of warfare to the shortage of women.

621 The imbalanced sex ratio is also shown to be the 613 basis of competition between co-residential patrilineal 578 descent groups, and how the members of these ally themselves 562 to other, patrilineal, local descent groups in order to maximize the number of women to which each group's members have access. When intra-village feuding over women becomes particularly intense, larger villages are shown to fragment into smaller, independent villages whose initial composition resembles a dual organization of inter-marrying patrilineal 000 descent groups. Genealogical data in both sociological and

[Introductory, R ii]

[Introductory, P. iii]

Genealogical data in both sociological and biological form are given for one small village to demonstrate the dual organization tendency. Similar data on two other villages from which this sample village recently split are presented to show that affinal ties between local descent groups are structurally more stable than agnatic ties between such groups, and that these affinal ties hold local descent groups together when larger villages fragment, resulting in the break-up of lineages and the redistribution of their members into mutually hostile, independent villages.

The intensity and tactics of warfare are shown to determine in large measure both the size of the village and the political conditions that promote inter-village alliances based on marriage. Finally, the techniques of slash-and-burn horticulture are discussed to show how economic dependence on cultivated food promotes the establishment of political alliances based on marriage exchanges and determines the direction of movement of relocated villages.

Three conclusions are drawn from the analysis. First, the frequency of intra-village fighting and inter-village warfare co-varies with the frequency with which males may legitimately satisfy sexual desires; anything that increases female/male ratio or the sexual activity of females reduces feuding. Second, the degree to which marriage practice conforms to marriage rules is predictable once the conditions of warfare are specified. When warfare is chronic, alliances between historically unrelated villages require a breach of marriage rules when women pass between these groups. Comparative data on Brazilian Yąnomamö social organization are given to support these conclusions. Third, the data bearing on Yąnomamö social organization support E. R. Leach's contention that the political and economic contexts within which marriages take place must be considered as part of the ongoing social organization and must be included in analyses of the latter. By so doing, the analysis [114] shows that integration between Yąnomamö lineal descent corporations does not necessarily derive from inherent properties cognatic kinship as argued by Meyer Fortes.

121 reasoning, as most of the Yąnomamö villages are presently
583 uncontacted, and those that are in contact with foreigners
582 have only recently (since 1951) entered into these contacts.
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583 Yąnomamö marriages, even the preferred form, are
582 influenced by the milieu of inter-village hostility within
*628 which they are contracted. Marriages in this milieu have as
613 their major function the promotion of social ties between the descent groups represented in the exchange and are best understood as the deployment of women between groups with the purpose of promoting political and military alliances. The groups in question may be of two kinds: the local patrilineages comprising a particular village, or the members of different villages as such. As the only corporate group among the Yąnomamö is the local lineage, marriages within and between villages are to be understood as alliances between different corporate groups.[1]

583 The variables affecting marriage practice--weakness
582 of descent as a solidarity-promoting medium, village size
183 and instability, the chronic nature of warfare, the shortage
*621 of women, attitudes about aggressiveness and demonstration
• 921 of ferocity by individuals, and economic practices--are such
152 that some deviation from the normative marriage rules is necessary to insure maximum survival chances for the resi-
583 dents of the various autonomous villages. Because marriage
582 exchanges in general have political and military implications,
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*[621] [1]Yąnomamö villages are not corporate groups.

is allied to another which can provide it with more military assistance and desirable trade goods than the former can give to the latter, an imbalance in the exchanges of women will follow. The imbalance will favor the village that, for reasons of size and of existing military patterns, least needs the military aid of the other.

The character of Yąnomamö warfare is not as intimately related to village size as might be expected, although, of course, larger villages are best able to conduct warfare successfully over a long period of time from one location. Larger villages are less likely to be forced to abandon their location because of raids from smaller groups, whereas smaller groups are markedly vulnerable in this respect. Nevertheless, no one village is large enough to withstand successfully military pressures from a cluster of smaller, allied villages, and, therefore, the members of all villages seek defensive alliances with their neighbors. Such alliances are based on the exchange of women.

Other demographic factors, in addition to sheer size of villages, affect marriage practices. The ratio of males to females, for example, is high, partly because of the practice of female infanticide. Moreover, the shortage of women is compounded by other factors; sexual intercourse is prohibited with pregnant women and those who have nursing children, and polygyny causes an unequal distribution of the available women. It would be difficult to exaggerate the consequences for Yąnomamö social organization of this single

phenomenon: the feuds that lead to the splitting of villages and the cause of fighting between villages are largely the result of the shortage of women.

Within villages, then, the bachelors and those men whose wives are either pregnant or are nursing children constantly threaten village stability by seeking liaisons with the wives of other men. The discovery of these liaisons usually leads to violent fighting between the group of close relatives of the woman's husband and that of her lover; and this frequently causes the village to split. The larger the village, the more likely it is that such liaisons will develop and that the subsequent fighting will lead to fragmentation of the village.

Village size, then, is limited by the capacity of the kinship network to regulate internal feuds, and by the nature of the actual or current warfare pattern of the neighboring villages. As the village grows in size, the incidence of extra-marital affairs and club-fights appears to increase, while the ability of kinship to regulate the affairs of a multi-lineage village diminishes in proportion. Villages then split into smaller groups that comprise two or more small, cohesive, intermarrying local lineages; each group establishes an independent village and enters into marriage alliances with other villages. The prior existence of hostilities with other villages may delay the split, but does not prevent it. In short, the relationship of Yąnomamö village size to village solidarity nicely illustrates Leslie

*621 White's generalization that

> every society tends to behave in such a way as to achieve that balance between size and solidarity that will give it the maximum effectiveness in carrying on its life-sustaining activities. (1959:104)

*621 *628 562 583 582 *721 Belligerent ideology and aggressive behavior

Village size plays an important role in the nature of the political relationships between groups that are not linked by kinship ties. As mentioned above, larger villages tend to use their strength and dominance to upset the exchange balance of women. But the degree to which a powerful group is able to force a dependent ally to cede women is limited by the ability of the smaller group to raid the larger village successfully. In ideological terms the Yanomamö express this capacity to wage war by placing emphasis on and valuing aggressive behavior. It is considered both proper and desirable to act ferociously, as this informs neighbors of the group's capacity to wage war and warns them that the group is willing to resort to war in political dealings.

*621 *628 526 574 152 Members of small villages are consequently constrained to behave militantly toward larger neighbors to limit the coercion that the larger group may be tempted to try. Their fierce behavior takes the form of threat, bluff, chicanery in trading and, most important, challenges to duels. Frequently, when villagers are invited to feast with an allied group, the invitation includes a challenge to a chest-pounding

622 influence within the village. A leader's functions are few and ill-defined. Generally, he initiates activities that the entire group has already decided to undertake. His major [701] function and concern is with organizing and leading raiding parties and with investigating the village neighborhood when raiders are likely to be present, a dangerous and undesirable task. Moreover, he represents the village and frequently [529] [574] initiates feasts to honor other villages, and he often super- [439] vises the trading that normally follows a feast, permitting enough possessions to pass into the hands of the guests to assuage their greed, while at the same time ensuring that his [527] followers are not impoverished. Because of his role in [241] initiating feasts, his garden is usually larger than that of his followers and he produces the greater portion of food given away during the feast. During club-fights within the [578] village, the leaders of the factions involved in the fighting [621] stand by and attempt to keep the fighting innocuous, using [629] both diplomacy and threats to effect a relatively peaceful end to the fighting. When diplomacy fails and someone is badly injured or killed in the fighting, the headmen are the first to start firing arrows at the offenders.

629 The headman's role as leader is enhanced in proportion 92 to the intensity of warfare. Some headmen deliberately seek 554 to prolong wars by spurning offers of peace from their enemies, or go so far as to initiate new raids against some unsuspecting village on the pretext that they are practicing harmful magic against his followers, or simply to abduct women.

CHAPTER II

THE DEMOGRAPHIC BASIS OF WARFARE, POLITICAL ALLIANCE, AND SETTLEMENT DYNAMICS[1]

A. The Shortage of Women and Feuding

As outlined in the Introduction, the shortage of women among the Yąnomamö has far-reaching consequences in almost every aspect of their social organization. In this chapter I will establish the general functional relationship between this demographic fact and the dynamics of village feuding, village splitting, and village re-location. These phenomena will be discussed in more detail in later chapters, particularly with reference to the kinship system.

The Yąnomamö practice male and female infanticide. There are a number of reasons accounting for this practice. First, young couples do not relish the prospect of a long period of celibacy that pregnancy and lactation taboos impose on them. From the time a woman discovers she is pregnant until the time she weans her child, she is not allowed to have sexual relations. The time period involved varies from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 54]

[1] The data discussed in this and subsequent chapters are drawn from the 5 villages, listed in Table 1, in which I spent most of my time. The historical and genealogical relationships of these villages are given later in the text. My generalizations on Yąnomamö culture and social organization are applicable to those groups occupying the Upper Orinoco and the Mavaca River basis. (See Map B, next page.)

835 601 183 investigated discrepant kinship usage I found that the terminology changed because of incestuous relationships between my informant (or his close kinsman) and the members of the local lineage in question. I have not investigated all discrepant usages, but the high incidence of the terminological aberrations suggests that incest is widely practiced.

835 601 183 582 [162] [562] Incestuous affairs and marriages occur largely because of the woman shortage. I have already mentioned that IshiweiwÃ of PatanowÃ-tedi married his three 'granddaughters' because he could not find a wife of the appropriate category. A similar situation occurred in Bisaasi-tedi. RëromawÃ, one of the important men in the lower group of Bisaasi-tedi, has redefined a number of his classificatory daughters as sisters,[1] thereby making it possible for his sons to marry their children, otherwise incestuous marriages. His oldest son, BÃkÃbõwÃ, technically married his FaDaDa, but because his father had redefined the mother of BÃkÃbõwÃ's wife as 'sister,' the marriage was appropriate within their marriage rules.

937 *621 578 [721] The woman shortage is remedied by illicit affairs within the village. These affairs are the major cause of feuds and village splits. During the 15 months covered by my field work five club-fights occurred. Four of them were over women who had been caught in illicit affairs, and in one case, the village split into hostile factions that began

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[1] See Chapter 4 for detailed discussion of this.

raiding each other.[1]

That the shortage of women is the basis of internal feuding is illustrated by a practice recently adopted by members of the New Tribes Mission working in the village of Kosholowä-tedi, a small village on the Padamo River. The missionaries had a major problem with club-fighting within the village, most of which developed out of sexual liasons between married women and married men. The missionaries began an active campaign aimed at changing the coitus taboos during pregnancy and lactation. They were successful in their efforts, and the major result was that fighting was almost completely stopped. (Another result was a sharp increase in births.)

Village size and composition have an effect on the number of sexual liaisons within a village, as illicit affairs are more difficult to discover in large villages. The Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, as can be seen from Table 1, have less of a woman shortage than the other villages. Nevertheless, fights over women do break out in these villages. One of the clubfights I witnessed took place between two groups of Monou-tedi men in the village of Bisaasi-tedi. One of the Monou-tedi men had wanted to carry on an affair with the wife of Konoreiwä, another man of his village, but was unable to do so while the Monou-tedi lived in their own village. Once when the Monou-tedi moved to Bisaasi-tedi to

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[1] See Chapter 5, Tables 5 and 6, for a summary of the causes of village splits and hostilities.

avoid the raids from the PatanowÃ-tedi, the man in question used this opportunity to have an affair with KonoreiwÃ's wife, presuming that he would not be discovered because the village was filled with people. He was discovered, despite his discretion, and challenged to a duel by KonoreiwÃ. The entire village participated in the club fight. KonoreiwÃ punished his wife by hitting her in the mouth with a glowing fire brand, severely burning her lips.

Finally, and most drastically, the woman shortage is remedied by raiding other villages to abduct women. This, however, is war. The ever-present possibility of this occurring, however, is a constant threat to the stability of political alliances, for allies occasionally turn on each other with the intent of seizing females. It is largely for this reason that allies cede women to each other peacefully by contracting marriage alliances. In November 1964 the PatanowÃ-tedi arrived at Bisaasi-tedi to participate in a feast. This was the first time the groups had gathered as groups since they separated from each other on hostile terms in ca. 1944. They intended to make peace at this feast, but a party of men from Monou-tedi, a village that also formed part of the group before the 1944 split, arrived uninvited and abducted seven women from the PatanowÃ-tedi. This ultimately provoked a war between the PatanowÃ-tedi and Monou-tedi, and determined the settlement pattern of both groups, as well as their political activities, all during my field work. The war was still being actively prosecuted when I

726 114 left the field in February 1966, and had by that time involved the Bisaasi-tedi.

B. The Effects of Warfare On Settlement Pattern and Economic Practices[1]

*621 628 837 578 • 721 [241] When feuds, usually over women, can not be resolved peacefully, club fights between the supporters of the woman's lover and husband develop, leading to village splits and the establishment of mutually hostile, independent villages. The timing of the split, however, is determined by the nature of Yąnomamö agriculture: unless a large village has two gardens separated by a considerable distance, the factions in the feud can not separate to form independent villages.

*628 726 722 241 36 The situation is similar with respect to inter-village warfare and village movement. The Yąnomamö depend to such an extent on their cultivated foods that their pattern of warfare necessitates the formation of political alliances with other groups. Occasionally members of a village find themselves in a situation where they have no choice except to move into the village of an ally and depend on the produce of the latter's garden. For the most part, the Yąnomamö attempt to avoid

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[241] [36] [171] [128] [1] Yąnomamö economy deserves intensive treatment, as certain groups of Yąnomamö practice 'pioneering' slash-and-burn cultivation, i.e., are moving into unoccupied territory. In this, they exhibit some interesting parallels to, and differences from, the Iban of Sarawak (Freeman, 1955. See also Carneiro, 1956 and Conklin, 1961 on shifting cultivation). For the purposes of this dissertation, however, I am concerned only with the general limitations that Yąnomamö economic practices impose on settlement pattern and how these practices affect Yąnomamö social organization.

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1987 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

The politico-military situation in which the Patanowä-tedi found themselves during 1965 dramatically illustrates the importance of allies, i.e., neighbors upon whom one can depend for both military and subsistence items in times of crises. The Patanowä-tedi had been at war with a number of groups to their east and north for several years prior to my arrival in 1964. They managed, however, to hold their own in the wars against these villages, as they were a large group.[1] Earlier wars, and the latent hostilities resulting from these, precluded alliances with the Shamatari villages to their south. Their congeners, the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi, lived to the west of them, but the nature of the circumstances leading to their separation prevented alliances with these groups. Nevertheless, the Patanowä-tedi made peace overtures to the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi from time to time, and sporadic visiting between them began after 1955. In late 1964 the Patanowä-tedi managed to convince the Bisaasi-tedi of their sincerity to renew friendship and visited them, but the Monou-tedi shattered this attempted rapprochement by abducting seven women from the Patanowä-tedi. The events subsequent to this incident drew the Patanowä-tedi into yet another war, the proportions of which exceeded the defense capabilities of the Patanowä-tedi: they could no longer remain at one site and prosecute both wars effectively. They were surrounded on all

[1] They had attempted to split into three small groups before getting into the war with their northern and eastern neighbors, but the war forced the three groups to re-unite for defense purposes. See Chapter 5.

726 sides by villages that were actively raiding them. Fortunately,
*628 however, they had one ally, the Ashadowä-tedi, a large group (ca. 200-250 people) living two days' walk to their south. [729] The Ashadowä-tedi allied themselves to the Patanowä-tedi because of their own interest in raiding the Hasaböwä-tedi, from whom they themselves separated on hostile terms in the recent past. Furthermore, the Ashadowä-tedi had penetrated Shamatari territory, and needed allies in the event that the Shamatari villages began hostilities against them.

• 721 The abduction of the seven Patanowä-tedi women by
726 the Monou-tedi precipitated a war of such intensity that the
361 Patanowä-tedi were immediately obliged to abandon their site.
*628 Under 'normal' circumstances, the Patanowä-tedi would have been able to resist a small group like the Monou-tedi, but their other war against the Hasaböwä-tedi detracted from their capacity to do so. When the Monou-tedi initiated raiding against the Patanowä-tedi, the allies of <u>all</u> the villages hostile to the Patanowä-tedi jumped, so to speak, on the
726 'band-wagon.' These allies were supporting Patanowä-tedi's
*628 enemies only half-heartedly up to the entry of the Monou-tedi into the war, for prior to this, the Patanowä-tedi were able to threaten these villages. When, however, the Monou-tedi and their allies (the Bisaasi-tedi, the Mõmaribõwei-tedi, and the Reyabobõwei-tedi) began raiding the Patanowä-tedi, it became immediately apparent that the offensive potential of the Patanowä-tedi was greatly reduced. Thus, villages at some distance from the Patanowä-tedi began to raid the latter,

162 562 83 sexually, by the practices of sodomy, wife sharing, incest, and permitted affairs. However, two ways in which the problem 162 562 583 is resolved--clandestine affairs within villages and raiding 849 721 722 to abduct women between villages--create political situations that favor the development of political alliances for the purposes of defense. Since these involve the transfer of *628 women between the allies, the practice of female infanticide constitutes a functional component in the marriage alliance system.

*721 *628 578 241 722 The process of village splitting, growing out of feuds over women, results in the establishment of small, militarily vulnerable villages. The timing of the split is conditioned by the agricultural requirements of the village on the one hand, and the nature of its politico-military relationships with other villages on the other. The graded system of violence permits flexibility in the settlement pattern and the precise conditions of a village split. Because the Yąnomamö rely heavily on cultivated foods, alliances may be interpreted as an attempt to maximize the chances of survival of groups of kinsmen as independent groups; the possibility always exists that a given group may be forced by its enemies to seek protection and provisions in the village of an ally.

413 621 603 562 544 726

disposition of these women and their children, a factor that did not contribute to the amity of relationships between the two agnatically related descent groups.[1]

582 584 593 621

A girl's marriage is arranged by her close male kinsmen. Her father has the greatest influence in the decision as to which man she will be given. If the man had adult sons, their opinion can overrule the decision of the father. If a girl marries within the village, she can depend on her agnates for protection against a cruel husband. Ideally, a woman prefers to marry her FaSiSo or her MoBrSo.[2] If the marriage rule is not followed, women prefer to be given to a non-kinsman within the village.

583 591 584 602 721 628

Men are obliged to perform bride service in the village of their inlaws, after which they may take their wife back to their natal village. Occasionally a woman leaves her natal village to seek a husband in another village, but this is always against the wishes of the girl's agnates. Such situations usually develop into wars between the village of the girl and the village that took the girl. The war between

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[128] [1]See Chapter 4 for a more detailed discussion of this incident.

[601] [2]By FaSiSo I do not exclusively mean the biological relative, although he, too, would be included. By extending their kinship terminology, the Yanomamö also include non-consanguines in these categories of relatives. For example, a young man in Bisaasi-tedi married his FaBrWiBrDa while I was in the field. To him, the girl was his MoBrDa because FaBr was 'father' and 'father's wife' was 'mother'; the girl, therefore, was MoBrDa.

the Namowei-tedi and the Boreta-tedi (Chapter V) developed out of a case such as this.

When women are given to men in allied villages, the local descent group of the girl (her father and adult brothers and, to a lesser extent, the girl's more distant agnates) decides which patrilineage of the foreign village should have her. Smaller villages are more prone to enter into alliances based on marriage exchanges than are larger villages, since smaller villages require allies to a greater extent than larger ones.[1] Local descent groups in small villages are more cohesive than descent groups in larger villages because they usually comprise a man and his adult sons; if there are distantly related agnates in small villages, these are incorporated into the local descent group. In small villages, therefore, local descent groups are more corporate because all the adult agnates of the girl have a say in her marriage. Ideally, they give the girl to a member of the politically strongest descent group of the allied village, for this group is the one from which aid will come or, conversely, the one most likely to make the decision to initiate hostilities against the smaller village.

The longer an alliance endures, the more likely it is that the exchange of women balances. The two largest

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[1] Larger Yanomamö villages can make visiting alliances with other groups that do not lead to marriage exchanges, as it is relatively unimportant to them to stabilize such alliances by ceding women to militarily inferior groups.

*628 bride's village is stronger, the girl's parents may be able
613 to press the groom into a prolonged bride service--five or
582 six years. The Bisaasi-tedi, for example, are politically
583 stronger than the Reyabobŏwei-tedi, one of their Shamatari
591 allies. They have obtained a number of women from this group, and the men involved all returned with their brides after brief periods of bride service. So far, not a single Bisaasi-tedi woman has gone to live in Reyabobŏwei-tedi, although one girl is married to a man from that village. The man has already spent several years in Bisaasi-tedi, and will probably spend at least as many more before being permitted to return home with his Bisaasi-tedi wife. The military and political superiority of the Bisaasi-tedi is so conspicuous in this alliance that one Bisaasi-tedi man literally dragged a woman, previously promised to him, out of the Reyabobŏwei-tedi village, against the wishes of both the woman and the woman's agnates. He was not prevented from doing this because the Reyabobŏwei-tedi need the political and military support of the Bisaasi-tedi and could not afford to react violently to the affront. Had the two villages been politically equal, the incident would have resulted in a war.

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*628 Women involved in exchanges between villages have no
623 say whatsoever in their fate. Most of them abhor the pos-
583 sibility of moving to a strange village, largely because they
584 fear that they will be mistreated by their husbands. Should a girl refuse to abide by the decision of her agnates, she has no alternative but to flee the village. Koima, a girl of

*621 156 152 593 Most of the displays of ferocity have to do with cruelties inflicted on women, particularly wives, as this is both a safe and a legitimate way of displaying aggressiveness.

*628 • 721 562 One of the corollaries of this ideology is to take advantage of weak neighbors, for in so doing one can display ferocity and gain materially (by abducting women). Villages that have many enemies are particularly good targets, for other villages can participate in the raiding against these disadvantaged villages with little fear of retaliation (see Chapter V). This attitude is also manifest in the political dealings with allies. Whenever allied villages differ markedly in size and strength, the weaker of the two is at a disadvantage, for the larger village will coerce it out of women. Since women are greatly prized, there is the constant threat that an ally will turn against its friends if the circumstances indicate that a substantial number of women can be abducted. Members of allied villages that have recently entered into alliance never really trust each other, as each fears that the other may turn on it to seize women. Whenever the men of the village go on raids, they conceal their women and children in the jungle in case a group of men from an allied village unexpectedly visit and find the poorly guarded women too much of a temptation to pass by.

*629 Political dealings between allies are such that each attempts to demonstrate to the other that it is completely sovereign and capable of defending itself. No group can afford to permit the notion among allies that it is weak and

10:Chagnon E-4.5 (1964-1966) 1967 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

promising the other to be a faithful friend, to give goods, and to provide the other with women.

Thus, canons of political behavior and the high value placed on ferocity have the effect of creating a considerable amount of tension both within and between villages. In short, Yanomamö philosophy regarding ferocity and the associated behavior reduces internal village solidarity and weakens political alliances between villages. Indirectly, it promotes village splitting and warfare.

*621 722 162 never get larger than 250 seems to lie in the fact that there is no military advantage to be gained in increasing village size beyond this point, while at the same time, further increase in size creates organizational difficulties that threaten the internal stability of the village.

*621 722 * 721 901 Size of raiding parties and tactics of warfare must be understood to appreciate why villages of 250 do not gain military advantages by increasing in size, and why village size can not drop below 40. The median size of Yąnomamö villages lies between 80 and 100 people. A village of this size can organize raiding parties ranging in size from about 20 to 30 men, as approximately one-third of the village residents are males between the ages of 14 and 50, the group from which the raiding parties are recruited. As no village leaves the women unguarded when it mounts a raid on its enemies, the size of raiding parties tends to be lower than the number of *621 162 eligible men able to raid.[1] Table 4 gives the population break-down of five Yąnomamö villages by age and sex. The males between the ages of 14 and 50 comprise 32.5% of the *621 701 721 population (19.6 plus 12.9). Thus, a raiding party comprised exclusively of men from a single village having a total population of 100 will not excede 33 men; but, the raiding party would include a large number of youths who have no raiding experience, and older men who are not able to move rapidly. These men constitute more of a handicap than an asset to the

[1]See Plate 2. [TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 136]

Table 4: Age and Sex Distribution of the Yanomamö Population.[1]

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Frequency Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	55	48	103	68	14	288
Females	36	42	77	60	23	238
Totals:	91	90	190	128	37	526
Percentage Distribution:						
	Age Intervals					
	0-5	6-13	14-25	26-50	51-75	Totals
Males	10.5	9.1	19.6	12.9	2.7	54.8
Females	6.8	8.0	14.6	11.4	4.4	45.2
Totals:	17.3	17.1	34.2	24.3	7.1	100.0

[114]
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[1]Based on residents of Monou-tedi, Bisaasi-tedi, Patanowä-tedi, Mömariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi. I was not able to get age estimates on a number of individuals in Reyaboböwei-tedi and Patanowä-tedi, accounting for the difference in total population given in Table 5, Chapter IV. The sex ratio for the above population is 1.22, and male excess is 9.5%, compared to 1.19 and 8.35% in Table 5.

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effectiveness of the raiding party. As someone must stay home to guard the women, the guards usually come from the too young and too old. Usually, however, one or two '<u>waitedi</u>' (fierce ones), men who have a great deal of experience in warfare and who would bravely defend the village, also remain behind. Thus, a village of 100 people could, at best,

70 72 [62] organize a raiding party of approximately 20 to 25 men.[1]

The smallest raiding party I saw during my field work comprised 10 men. This seems to be the lower limit to the size of an effective raiding party; most raiding parties are of the order of 35-40 men, although I have seen as many as 60 men leave on a raid.[2] There are several reasons why raiding parties require ten or more men. First, the Yanomamö 701 703 721 are not brave warriors; in a party of 10 men, a significant fraction of them would rather remain in the village where it is safer, and these men always look for excuses to drop out of the raiding party before the party meets and joins the enemy. The usual excuses given are sickness or sore feet. Thus, even in small raiding parties there is considerable dissent among the men, particularly the younger ones. Such problems would be insurmountable if the party contained fewer than ten men, as even the most determined of the raiders would lose his enthusiasm by listening to the complaints and pessimistic comments of the more reluctant members of the 70 703 721 raiding party. I accompanied one Monou-tedi raiding party a portion of the way to their objective; most of the younger 123 men in the raiding party complained of having dysentery, 114 malaria, or sore feet. I had promised to give them malaria

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[1] This presumes that there are no sick or injured men in the village; there are always some.

[2] The larger raiding parties are always composite, [628] involving the members of two or more villages.

701 pills before the raiding party left, but I forgot them.
703
721 This almost ended the raiding party, as the younger men
123 jumped on this as an excuse to stay home. The older men,
114 however, forced them into line and severly chastized them for being cowardly.

701 Raiding tactics also require that approximately ten
721 men be included in the raiding party. The raiding party
725 usually splits into two or more groups when it approaches the village of the enemy. This increases the probability that the raid will be successful; two groups are more likely to confront individuals of the enemy village while at the same time splitting up reduces the possibility that the raiders will be accidentally discovered by the enemy. After the raiders shoot one or more of the enemy, they retreat in a standardized pattern. Groups of two men retreat a specified distance, their retreat being covered by two men who lie in ambush along the trail most likely to be taken by pursuers. The guarding pair then retreats, being covered by the first pair who lie in ambush. If the raiding party has separated into two groups, retreat tactics will necessitate at least 8 men.

721 The purpose of a raid is to kill one or more of the
727 enemy and retreat before being discovered. A raid is successful only if one or more of the enemy is killed and none of the raiders is wounded or killed. When a joint raiding party from Mahekodo-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi raided Riakowë's village in the early '50s to revenge the deaths of two

721 721 Mahekodo-tedi men and the victims of the 1950-51 treacherous feast, they succeeded in destroying Riakowë's village and garden, recapturing two of the women abducted by the Shamatari, killing three men, and abducting Riakowë's son.[1] They did not consider the raid a success because the Shamatari succeeded in killing one of the raiders. Again, in 1965 a joint raiding party comprised of Monou-tedi and Bisaasi-tedi men raided the Patanowë-tedi, killing one man. One of the Monou-tedi, Konoreiwë, was badly wounded by the Patanowë-tedi and almost died. The raid was only partially successful according to the raiders.

701 725 721 *[628] The tactic of ambush and retreat does not require the participation of large numbers of men. Raiding parties of 60 men, therefore, are somewhat less effective than raiding parties of 25-30 men, because raiding parties of this size usually involve the cooperation of two or more villages. 701 *628 721 Then, the organization of such large numbers of men is a problem, as each village will have its own leader, and therefore the contingency of raiders provided by allied villages in a joint raid has its own leadership. Thus, joint raids are invariably less effective because of the numbers of men involved and the difficulty of organizing them properly. The contingency of allies in a joint raiding party is less enthusiastic about the raid than the group from the aggrieved village, and if the enemy is not to be found at the site being

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[1] Both Barker and my informants gave me an account of this raid. The two versions were identical.

raided, the allies usually insist on returning home rather than pursue the enemy further. In 1965 a joint raid involving men from Bisaasi-tedi, Monou-tedi, Mǫmaribǫwei-tedi, and Reyabobǫwei-tedi failed to locate the Patanowǟ-tedi at their village. The two Shamatari groups refused to go further in pursuit of the Patanowǟ-tedi, and the entire raiding party returned home, against the wishes of the Monou-tedi, whose dead headman was being avenged by this raid. Occasionally, however, the raiders are all enthusiastic about the raid and the possibility exists that an enraged raiding party may attempt to drive the enemy from the village. This partially accounts for the fact that warfare promotes the re-combination of smaller villages into larger, more defensible ones. If a raiding party of 60 men descended on the inhabitants of a village, the village could defend itself adequately only if there were approximately an equal number of adult men in the village. This would require that the village be at least as large as 180 people. Another factor, however, accounts for the fact that some villages have large populations. When a group has several enemies, it can raid them more effectively if it is able to send out raiding parties recruited from different factions within the village. The same raiders cannot return all the raids mounted against them and carry on the business of making a living as well. Again, larger numbers of men are required to defend the village while some of the men are away on raids, as the probability is higher that the village will be raided in the interim if the village has several enemies.

000 has several enemies.

*621 I pointed out that Lower Bisaasi-tedi was not a
*628 militarily viable village, although its total population
701 falls within the range of such villages. An examination of
• 721 the village composition given in Appendix A will show that
722 there are only 12 men between the ages of 14 and 50, and not
[162] all of these would be effective in a raiding party. Some of these men would have to remain home to guard the women, reducing the capability of the village to mount raids against enemies even more, as the size of the raiding party would have to be smaller than ten men. Thus, Lower Bisaasi-tedi depends on assistance from its allies in their warfare and could not survive as an independent village. Should their enemies (the Patanowã-tedi) begin raiding them frequently, they would have to reunite with their agnates, the Upper Bisaasi-tedi. As a matter of fact, they did exactly this whenever raids from the Patanowã-tedi threatened them. The
[162] Monou-tedi have 21 males between the ages of 14 and 50, but two of these are cripples. Nevertheless, they are much more capable of maintaining a separate existence than the Lower Bisaasi-tedi, despite the fact that the difference in size of the two villages is not great. The significant fact is that they have a larger number of men capable of conducting
*621 raids. However, their size has not permitted them to ef-
*628 fectively withstand the raids mounted against them by the
782 Patanowã-tedi, and the Monou-tedi were forced to move to a new
[36] site by the raids stemming from their enemies. Without the

[Namowei-tedi Group]

descent back to Shamatari ancestors. Shihowë-tedi and its splinter village, Mokayëaba-tedi, were two Shamatari allies of the Namowei-tedi in this period of the latter's history.

The Namowei-tedi got into a war with a cluster of villages allied to Obotawë-tedi over a woman from the latter village. The woman joined the Namowei-tedi against the wishes of her own people. This led to a club fight between the two groups and, later, to a shooting war. Obotawë-tedi recruited aid from their allies, the Bokçoiwë-Urihi-tedi, Boreta-tedi, and Aramata-tedi while the Namowei-tedi were supported by the two Shamatari villages mentioned above. A number of men from each of the two groups were killed in the raiding that developed and several Namowei-tedi women were abducted. Obotawë-tedi and their allies forced Namowei-tedi to abandon their garden and take refuge with the Wareta-tedi, a group that had just abandoned the area (ca. 1890-1900) occupied by the Namowei-tedi because of a war with the Boreta-tedi. As the Namowei-tedi had not had time to make a new garden when the raiding became intense enough to force them to move, they moved into the village of Wareta-tedi and lived off the produce of the latter's garden.

Area 2: Wareta-tedi

The residents of Wareta-tedi had their own war with Shihowë-tedi when they were joined by the Namowei-tedi, but were on friendly terms with Husirawë-urihi-tedi, a village to their north. The headman of Wareta-tedi, Shamaiyowë,

[Namowei-tedi Group]

174 Several marriage alliances were developing between the Namowei-tedi and one
+628 726 of the Shamatari villages (Konabuma-tedi) when the war with
583 Sibarariwë's group started, but these eventually broke down before any women were actually exchanged.

174 The second important event was the secession of a
+621 section of the Namowei-tedi from the main group and the
+628 development of hostilities between these cognate villages.

174 The third event, occurring somewhat later, was the ini-
361 tiation of hostilities between one of the Namowei-tedi
+628 sections (Patanowë-tedi) and villages to its north; this
996 war is being conducted vigorously at the present time, and has dictated the movements of the Patanowë-tedi from the time it began until now.

174 In order, the particulars of these three events are,
+628 briefly: (1) The Namowei-tedi were on friendly terms with
781 the Shamatari villages to their south and southeast for a
+721 number of years after they moved to Patanowë-tëka. However,
[175] several Namowei-tedi died in an epidemic (probably malaria) about 1940, and survivors attributed the deaths to the Shamatari, accusing them of practicing harmful magic against them. Shortly after the deaths occurred, a young man called Ruwahiwë, Sibarariwë's older brother, visited the Namowei-tedi. Mamikininiwë, who now lives in Monou-tedi, murdered Ruwahiwë with an axe while he rested in a hammock, thereby avenging the deaths of the people who died in the epidemic.

Shortly after Ruwahiwë was murdered, his village began mounting raids against the Namowei-tedi, but succeeded

[Namowei-tedi Group]

only in killing a man from Konabuma-tedi. This man was living with the Namowei-tedi while performing bride service. The Namowei-tedi reciprocated the raiding and captured many women. Some of these women are still living with the Bisaasi-tedi (Yanarima, Waiyuruma, Hakurama, and Hikarima) and the Patanowɨ-tedi (Iahinarima, Rubrobemi, Rokuobemi, and Shiaomi), one died of a snake-bite shortly after her capture, two died recently after reproducing in Patanowɨ-tedi (Reisimi and Brararama), and three escaped (Breiurama, Darama, and Boroama).

(2) Around 1940 the Namowei-tedi split into two factions, each making a new garden further up the Shanishani-u River and abandoned Patanowɨ-tɨka. The move was stimulated by the frequency of fighting within the village: "We were many and were always fighting with each other," said one of my informants, "so we decided to separate from the others in order to keep peace." Both groups claimed ownership of the peach palm trees each had planted at Patanowɨ-tɨka, and returned to collect the fruit each season from their new gardens. Ownership rules stipulate that peach palm trees belong to the individual who plants them. A man from one of the factions took the palm fruit belonging to a man from the other faction one year; the latter reciprocated by stealing plantains from the garden of the former, precipitating a club fight between the two villages. The club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the two groups parted on strained terms. The smaller (Brararabɔwei) of the two factions abandoned their site, fearing that they would be raided by the other group (Wanidima),

[Namowei-tedi Group]

where. In 1949 they moved from Shihota-tëka to Kreibŏwei, a garden on the Shamata-u branch of the Mavaca River.

(3) The Wanidima-tedi began to split into three groups in the mid '50s: Rashawë and Waiyari were the two new gardens established by the factions of Wanidima-tedi. The separation was actually completed in so far as each garden was being exploited by one of the factions, but the three factions were forced to reunite when one of them got into a war with several villages from the north side of the Orinoco. The three groups abandoned their gardens and returned to Patanowë-tëka, and became known as the Patanowë-tedi.

The war with the villages north of the Orinoco started when Yabitawë-tedi and Kashorawë-tedi men killed a man from Boreta-tedi in a club fight. The headman of Mahekodo-tedi, Shinanokawë, was married to the sisters of the Boreta-tedi man, and began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi to avenge his death. A man from Patanowë-tedi was doing bride service in the latter village and was killed by raiders from Mahekodo-tedi, involving the Patanowë-tedi in the war against Mahekodo-tedi. Shortly after this event, men from Yabitawë-tedi visited Patanowë-tedi and, finding the men gone, seized a young girl who was in puberty seclusion. The Patanowë-tedi then began raiding the Yabitawë-tedi, forcing them to take refuge with their allies, the Kashorawë-tedi. Hasabŏwë-tedi, then an ally to both Patanowë-tedi and Yabitawë-tedi, took the side of the latter in the dispute and commenced to raid

Kreibŏwei population was in need of an ally to aid them in their raids against Patanowĕ-tedi. Shortly after they moved to Kreibŏwei they made friendly contact with a Shamatari village, then under the leadership of Riakowĕ, located on the Mavaca River. The Kreibŏwei-tedi began visiting Riakowĕ's village and entered into feasting relationships with his followers.

Riakowĕ's followers were related to the Shamatari with whom the Kreibŏwei-tedi were at war: Sibarariwĕ's village. Sibarariwĕ persuaded Riakowĕ to invite the Kreibŏwei-tedi to a feast during which the two Shamatari groups planned to kill as many men as they could and abduct women. By doing this Sibarariwĕ would avenge the murder of his older brother, Ruwahiwĕ, who was treacherously killed about 10 years earlier by the Kreibŏwei-tedi, when the latter lived at Patanowĕ-tĕka.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi accepted the feast invitation and went to Riakowĕ's village in the dry season (i.e., December through March) of 1950-51. Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with a party of men from Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, were concealed in the jungle outside Riakowĕ's village. Shortly after arriving at the village, the Kreibŏwei-tedi men were attacked by Riakowĕ's men with sharpened staves and axes, and eleven of them were killed. Those that managed to break out of the palisades were shot from ambush by Sibarariwĕ's followers, along with the Hasabŏwĕ-tedi, resulting in the wounding of a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi men. Only six or seven women were seized by the Shamatari; but, the greediness of the Shamatari

men for the Kreibŏwei-tedi women distracted the Shamatari, and a large number of Kreibŏwei-tedi managed to escape. These fled to a mountain called Wadubadidiobakĕkŏ where they had previously started clearing a new garden, Kobou-tĕka. Here, the Kreibŏwei-tedi removed the arrow-points from the wounded and regained their health. They returned to Kreibŏwei-tĕka, as their new garden had not yet begun producing. Shortly after the treacherous feast the Kreibŏwei-tedi were visited by Shinanokawĕ, the headman of Mahekodo-tedi, and one of his followers, Shiroba-tedi. The two men had heard of the Kreibŏwei-tedi's unfortunate circumstances and visited them to extend an invitation to join Mahekodo-tedi while they made a new garden.

Area 8: Mahekodo-tedi

Before they left for Mahekodo-tedi the Kreibŏwei-tedi undertook a revenge raid against Riakowĕ's group. They killed two men and then retreated to Mahekodo-tedi, collecting their women and children at Kreibŏwei-tĕka as they proceeded from Riakowĕ's village to Mahekodo-tedi. This was early in 1951.

For the remaining months of 1951 the Kreibŏwei-tedi worked on their garden at Kobou, returning to Mahekodo-tedi at approximately 3-week intervals to rest and obtain more plantains; these latter were carried to Kobou to sustain the Kreibŏwei-tedi while they worked on their garden. Before Kobou-tĕka was producing, however, the Kreibŏwei-tedi decided

to split into two factions and make separate gardens. There had been a number of club fights between the two factions over women, and to prevent the escalation of these internal feuds the group split. Thus, two more gardens were started (Monou-tëka and Barawë-tëka) before the Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi to move into their new garden at Kobou. The splitting of the group at Kobou was determined by other considerations as well (see p. 162). It should be noted here that considerable fighting took place among the men when the widows of the Shamatari victims were redistributed to the survivors.

The Kreibŏwei-tedi left Mahekodo-tedi as soon as they could. It was rumored that their protectors were planning to treacherously kill their men and seize their women. This rumor was later substantiated by members of a faction of Mahekodo-tedi that split from the main group, who informed the Kreibŏwei-tedi several years later of the details of the plot. The development of two wars involving the Mahekodo-tedi prevented the latter from carrying out their plan. Shibariwë-tedi, a group that had earlier split from Mahekodo-tedi, began raiding the latter, forcing them to move to the south bank of the Orinoco River. Meanwhile, the Shamatari learned that the Kreibŏwei-tedi were taking refuge with the Mahekodo-tedi and sent a raiding party there to avenge the deaths of the two men killed by the Kreibŏwei-tedi after the treacherous feast. The Shamatari raiders succeeded in killing a man and a boy from Mahekodo-tedi and abducting four women. Thus,

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 1: Aramamisi-kähkö

Matakuwë's group settled here after abandoning their site north of the Orinoco because of wars with Kayabawë's group. The village at Aramamisi-kähkö, according to my informants (who could not possibly have remembered it from childhood), was immense. As the populations of the present villages of Teisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, Aramamisi-tedi, Konabuma-tedi,[1] Iwahikoroba-tedi, Akawaiyoba-tedi, Möwëraoba-tedi, Karawatari-urihi-tedi, Warabawë-tedi, Kohoroshi-tedi, Möxmariböwei-tedi, and Reyaboböwei-tedi trace their origins to this single village, we must conclude that the village was indeed large in 1900.

A large segment of the population broke away from the main group and moved to the Rahuawë-u River, splitting into two groups after reaching that area. Their separation from the Aramamisi-kähkö population developed out of a feud over a woman within the village, and the feud escalated to mutual raiding after the separation was completed. The splinter group entered into friendly relationships with the Namowei-tedi and were their allies until about 1935, when a war between them broke out. The present villages of Konabuma-tedi, Teisi-tedi, Nakiaiyoaba-tedi, and Akawaiyoba-tedi are derived from the original faction that separated from Matakuwë's group. The first three of these groups presently live in the Shukushöna-u basin, while the last one lives in the area abandoned by the

[1] There were two distinct Shamatari villages that had the name Konabuma-tedi.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

000 rarily abandoning Konabuma.

174 Matakuwë's group had three factions. Oroshowë, a
175 man belonging to Matakuwë's faction, took a woman away from
*621 her husband, a man from Karawatari's faction, leading to an
578 internal feud. One man of Karawatari's faction was shot, and
361 Karawatari split from the main group to establish a village of his own on the Shukumöna-u River. This split took place
174 about 1925. Karawatari's group began raiding Matakuwë's vil-
175 lage to avenge the death of Biawawë, the man killed in the
*621 feud. Karawatari's village later split for reasons I was un-
• 722 able to determine, and two factions separated from Karawatari's
174 group to found their own villages: Warabawë-tedi, led by
175 Hewariwë, and Kohoroshi-tedi, led by Ohiriwë. These last two
*621 villages are presumed to be in Brazil at the present time,
361 as my informants assert that Kohoroshi-tedi includes bearded
[822] foreigners among its members, most probably Salesian Mis-
[699] sionaries on the Cauabury River.[1] In 1964 Karawatari's group
361 lived on the Shukumöna-u River, as men from Reyaboböwei-tedi
[574] danced there that year. When the Reyaboböwei-tedi left
*[828] Karawatari's village, they took a young woman (Dimorama) with
[722] them, thereby becoming enemies to Karawatari. The girl presently lives in Bisaasi-tedi.

174 In about 1935 Matakuwë and his group moved to Kayurewë
361 to avoid raids from Karawatari and the Aramamisi-tedi.
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*[828] [1]Warabawë-tedi, a part of Kohoroshi-tedi in 1934, and Karawatari's villagers were involved in the abduction of Nabëyoma.

[Paruritawä-tedi Group]

Area 4: Kayurewë

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The Armandai-tedi continued to raid Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, so this site was abandoned in about 1940. Matakuwë's group had gotten into a war with the Namowei-tedi by 1940 over the death of Ruwahiwë, who was killed while he visited the Namowei-tedi at Patanowë-tëka. Ruwahiwë was Matakuwë's eldest son. After this incident, the Namowei-tedi actively raided Matakuwë's group at Kayurewë, and abducted a large number of women from them. Being raided by two villages, Matakuwë moved back to Konabuma, where his group had previously lived, because the peach palms of that garden were still producing.

Area 5: Konabuma

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*621
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(622)
(101)

About 5 years after this site was reoccupied by Matakuwë's group, the group split into two villages. One of them continued to live at Konabuma, and was led by Matakuwë's son, Sibarariwë. The other group moved to a branch of the Shukumöna-u River and took the name Paruritawë-tedi, led by

(578)
(721)

Weiamamowë. The split at Konabuma was caused by an internal feud over a woman. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but after the groups separated, they began raiding each other.

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Sibarariwë's group remained at Konabuma for a short time after the Paruritawë-tedi separated from them, but raids from the Namowei-tedi, the Armandai-tedi and the Paruritawë-tedi themselves forced Sibarariwë's group to abandon Konabuma

[Paruritawɨ-tedi Group]

against the Paruritawɨ-tedi, and the latter abandoned their site and moved north. When they abandoned Paruritawɨ-tedi, the group split into two factions, each making a separate garden: Mɔ̈maribɔ̈wei and Reyabobɔ̈wei. The two factions are still on friendly terms with each other and both are allied to the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi. The Reyabobɔ̈wei-tedi are presently attempting rapprochement with Sibarariwɨ's group, and are being forced by their allies, the Monou-tedi and the Bisaasi-tedi, to use their newly established friendship to effect another treacherous feast. In February 1965 the Reyabobɔ̈wei-tedi succeeded in inviting Sibarariwɨ's entire village to a feast and were intending to trick them after they arrived. However, one of the individuals met Sibarariwɨ's group half-way and warned them of the treachery, frustrating the attempt by the Bisaasi-tedi, the Monou-tedi, and the Paruritawɨ-tedi to get their revenge on Sibarariwɨ's group.

C. The War Pattern From November 1964 to February 1965

The effects of raiding and internal feuds on village composition, stability, splitting, and relocation that I have described above may also be observed among these villages at the present time. Raiding was intense during my field work. Patanowɨ-tedi, for example, was raided at least 25 times while I was in the field, raids that were mounted by a dozen different villages. Not all the raids were successful, but the frequency of the raiding was so high that it was never safe for the Patanowɨ-tedi to venture away from the village.

The major effect of these raids, apart from the ten lives they claimed, was that the Patanowë-tedi had to move frequently from one site to another. The Monou-tedi, who were raiding the Patanowë-tedi, were being raided intensively also. They, too, had to move frequently to avoid the raids. Both groups had to rely on allies to give them refuge during the dry season, the time of the year when raiding is most intense. It will be apparent below how crucial allies are to villages that are being raided frequently, and how agricultural practices necessitate these allies. Finally, the events discussed below will illustrate the degree to which consanguineal ties between mutually hostile villages are able to mitigate the hostilities between these villages.

The war between Monou-tedi and Patanowë-tedi

After the Namowei-tedi group split at the site of Patanowë in the early '40s, the two factions entered into a period of hostility that lasted until one of the factions, the present groups of Bisaasi-tedi and Monou-tedi, moved out of the area. Raiding between the two factions ceased after 1950, and each group entered into political alliances with unrelated neighboring villages.

In the middle '50s, a rapprochement between the two factions was attempted. A few individuals from Monou-tedi began visiting Patanowë-tedi, and one of them, Torokoiwë, was given two wives by the Patanowë-tedi. The rapprochement, however, was never effected and the political relationships between

726 728 *628 827 914 over the loss of the five women, and Yąnomamö canons of ferocity dictated that this loss would have to be avenged. The Monou-tedi informed the Patanowä-tedi that they were going to shoot them on sight the next time they met.

After the Patanowä-tedi returned to Bisaasi-tedi they packed their possessions and left for home. The feast was cancelled, as the Patanowä-tedi feared being ambushed by a Monou-tedi raiding party if they remained at Bisaasi-tedi. Before departing, the Patanowä-tedi assured their hosts that they still wanted peace with them, no matter what the Monou-tedi eventually did.

*628 721 723 This illustrates dramatically the Yąnomamö political philosophy that it is legitimate to take advantage of a weak village. The Monou-tedi, knowing that the Patanowä-tedi were politically in need of allies, took advantage of this situation when they abducted the women. They also knew that the Bisaasi-tedi would not take Patanowä-tedi's side in the dispute that was bound to follow, as too many of the Bisaasi-tedi had personal grudges against the Patanowä-tedi. The Monou-tedi also knew that the Patanowä-tedi were not likely to begin a war over this incident, as they already had more enemies than they could successfully withstand without allies. In short, the Monou-tedi knew that they stood a good chance of gaining women by abducting them from the Patanowä-tedi without great risk of being shot by the latter. As the conclusion shows, they managed to obtain two women and did not get into a *628 721 shooting war with the Patanowä-tedi. However, their anger at

628 721 the Patanowë-tedi for managing to overwhelm their own force led them to declare war on the Patanowë-tedi. The Monou-tedi 782 241 786 immediately began making a new garden at Moyenaböwei, across the Mavaca River from their village and several hours inland, anticipating the war that they knew would follow. After they had cleared the large trees from their new garden site, they raided the Patanowë-tedi in the last week of January 1965, and succeeded in killing Bosibrei.

727 581 582 593 628 Another important event took place while the Monou-tedi were clearing the trees from their new garden site, an event that illustrates the same principle of political philosophy. One of the stolen women, Kakoma, was given to a young man, Karidimö, who had only one leg. Karidimö could not do heavy work, and when his village moved inland to clear their new site Karidimö moved to Bisaasi-tedi with his new wife. Kakoma, however, was not pleased with her new husband, and asked the Bisaasi-tedi if she could stay with them, hoping that she would be permitted to rejoin the Patanowë-tedi if they returned to Bisaasi-tedi to visit. The Bisaasi-tedi men obligingly took her away from Karidimö by force and gave her to a bachelor in their own village. Karidimö, enraged at this, returned to Monou-tedi to recruit aid.

628 721 578 This put the Monou-tedi in a difficult position. They were planning to raid the Patanowë-tedi and would have to maintain good relations with the Bisaasi-tedi if the revenge raids from the Patanowë-tedi became intense. They could not, however, overlook the insult to Karidimö, for this

*628 would have been a display of weakness. They decided to
721 challenge the Bisaasi-tedi to a club fight and settle their
578 grievances by that means. Ten days after Kakoma was taken from Karidimõ, the Monou-tedi men arrived at Bisaasi-tedi and settled the dispute in a club fight. The Monou-tedi were thoroughly trounced by the larger number of Bisaasi-tedi, but they nevertheless demonstrated their potential and willingness to fight, thereby warning the Bisaasi-tedi that they better not attempt to seize more women in the future.

The Bisaasi-tedi clearly had taken advantage of the Monou-tedi numerical weakness and political needs to advance their own ends.

726 In the first week of March 1965 the Patanowã-tedi raided the Monou-tedi. They found the village site on the Mavaca River deserted, so they crossed the river and followed the trail taken by the Monou-tedi to their new garden. They [822] caught the Monou-tedi headman outside the new garden and killed him.

*628 This attack brought about an immediate rapprochement
728 between the Bisaasi-tedi and the Monou-tedi. Even Kaobãwã, leader of one of Bisaasi-tedi's main factions, was furious over this killing. Up to this point he was still interested in making peace with the Patanowã-tedi, but this even tempo-
726 rarily changed his mind. Kaobãwã ultimately led the revenge raid against the Patanowã-tedi.

[764] The Monou-tedi burned the corpse of the slain headman and sent small gourds of his ground bones to members of allied

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Summary

Tables 5 and 6 broadly summarize the movements of the five villages. As the details of the text indicate, considerably more village movement goes on than can be included in tables of this sort. The micro-movements, however, merely express in greater detail what is immediately apparent from an examination of Tables 5 and 6: the Yanomamö abandon their gardens and move to new locations because of raids from other groups. In only one instance was the movement of a village stimulated by economic considerations: site 4 was abandoned by the Namowei-tedi because of poor soil. Another exception was the abandoning of Barawä (site 10) by the Bisaasi-tedi in 1959. They moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River to gain access to steel tools, marking the beginning of their sustained contact with foreigners.

[722]
[134]
[412]
[177]

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The tables also show that there were ten village splits relevant to explaining the origins of the five villages considered in this chapter. Five of these splits were due to feuds over women. In four of the cases the factions that were involved immediately entered into hostilities with each other. The recent split within Patanowä-tedi, discussed in the text (pp. 188-89), again over a woman, is not included in Table 5, as the refugee group did not form a new village of their own. Three village splits in Tables 5 and 6 developed out of minor feuds, usually over women, brought about by large village size. In one case, the factions ultimately entered into hostilities with each other, whereas in two cases the factions still remain on friendly terms.

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CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS

128 In the body of this dissertation I have attempted to demonstrate that two variables in particular exert an overriding effect on Yąnomamö social structure. These are, respectivley, the shortage of women and the intensity of actual warfare. In this final chapter, I should like to accomplish two ends. First, I should like to set my conclusions against different material recently gathered among the Yąnomamö in northern Brazil.[1] Second, I should like to bring my material to bear on the discussion between Leach (1957) and Fortes (1959a, 1959b) regarding the relationship of kinship, marriage ties, descent and politics.

121 • 181 182 183 Let us turn first to comparative Yąnomamö ethnology. If it is true, as I have argued, that warfare enhances the

[1]After I had completed the text of the thesis I had an opportunity to discuss with Ernesto Migliazza the social organization of a number of Brazilian Yąnomamö groups. [114] Migliazza, a linguist, spent nearly six years among the Uraricaá Yąnomamö, working for a Baptist Mission and, more recently, for the Goeldi Museum in Belém. I thank him for permission to use much of the comparative material presented below; some of it has already been published in his 1964 work. I introduce this new data because it very effectively demonstrates the interrelationships between the variables discussed in the thesis. I would have arrived at the same conclusions, by employing arguments similar to those used by Meggitt (1965), but the contrast provided by this new material makes the conclusions more defensible.

likelihood that marriage practices will depart from the rules governing ideal marriage behavior, then we would expect a reduction in warfare to produce a reduction of this gap. A decrease in warfare should obviate the need for military alliances validated by exchanges of women; under such conditions marriage practice should conform more closely to preferential rules.

The Yąnomamö who live on the Upper Uraricoera and Uraricaá rivers of northern Brazil differ markedly in a number of traits from the Venezuelan Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin considered in this thesis. A major point of difference is that among the former warfare is much less common than it is among the Yąnomamö described in the preceding chapters. It is likely that this reduction in warfare is partly due to more frequent contact of the Brazilian Yąnomamö with Carib-speaking Indian tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) and, since 1958, with Christian missions. There appears to be a cline in the decreasing intensity of warfare from southwest, the area in which I conducted my field work, to northeast, the area from which these new data are drawn (see Map D, next page). Yąnomamö from the Upper Padamo River, an area about on the mid-point of this cline, told me that fighting with clubs was very rare in their villages. Migliazza[1] asserts that raiding between villages on the Uraricoera River occurs only every four or five years and is usually provoked by

[1]Personal communication.

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 195]

accusations of sorcery or by the desire to abduct women.

Another major difference between the Uraricaá and the Mavaca Yąnomamö is the manner in which they treat extra-marital liaisons. On the Uraricaá, liaisons are tacitly permitted and fighting rarely develops between a man and his wife's lover. Should fighting occur, it is generally caused by some incident unrelated to the affair itself. In short, men permit their wives to have extra-marital affairs, provided the women are discreet.

Of major analytical significance is the fact that the Uraricaá Yąnomamö closely adhere to their rules of ambilateral cross-cousin marriage.[1] This stems from the fact that political alliances between villages there never involve the transfer of women from one group to the other. The Yąnomamö of the Uraricaá are endogamous within each congeries of villages having a common history. It would seem, therefore, that the absence of intensive warfare permits marriage practice to follow marriage rules.

The Uraricaá settlement pattern and village organization differ considerably from those found among the Yąnomamö of the Mavaca basin. What I have called a small village of 40 people among the latter segments, on the Uraricaá, into clusters of extended family units separated from each other by as much as half a mile (Migliazza, 1964). The village in which Migliazza lived, for example, comprised 80 persons

[1] Migliazza was not able to give me statistical data on actual marriage practices. I intend to collect this kind of information in January-February 1967 when I visit the Uraricaá area.

184 occupying five different sites, each having its own house
361 and garden. These five groups recombined into a single
62 unitary village only when warfare threatened. To the south-
[72] west of the Uraricaá area, in the headwaters of the Parima
River, the villages tend to be larger and more nucleated.
On the Upper Parima River villages have a permanent centralized
site to which the dispersed extended families may retreat when
184 raids are imminent. Warfare is more common in this area than
72 on the Uraricaá. The Parima Mountains separate this group of
[131] Yanomamö from those whose social organization is described in
[183] this thesis. Southwest of the Parima Mountains intensity of
warfare is similar to that found in the Mavaca basin. Cor-
[361] responding to this increase in intensity is a change in type
of settlement: palisaded villages are general southwest of
the Parima Mountains, whereas they are found only sporadically
or not at all to the northeast.

184 There is likewise an apparent cline in population
361 density isomorphic with the cline in warfare intensity.
131 Yanomamö villages in Brazil are progressively smaller and
72 more widely scattered as one proceeds northeastward from the
161 Parima Mountains. It is tempting to correlate the reduction
in warfare intensity with the demographic pattern. However,
[177] another factor complicates the picture: the Yanomamö have more
contact with other tribes (Makiritare and Arekuna) in the
northeast extension of their territory; in many cases they
184 live in the same villages with these tribes. I suspect that
048 the contact they have with the Carib-speaking groups also
72

contributes to the reduction in the intensity of warfare. This stems from the fact that the Caribs have long had access to firearms, and the Yąnomamö avoid attacking Carib villages. It is not likely that Yąnomamö villages settled close to or among Caribs would be raided by other Yąnomamö, for the Caribs would either defend their co-residents or provide them with firearms to retaliate. Certainly, I know of no cases of Yąnomamö villages mounting raids on other Yąnomamö who live near or among Carib Indians.

Throughout the thesis I have emphasized the causal relationship between the shortage of women and the development of hostilities within and between villages. The same relationship appears to hold in the Uraricaá area, as the following incident illustrates. The missionaries discovered that one of the Yąnomamö women had two husbands. They felt that this was an unacceptable situation and persuaded the woman that she should abandon one of the men. This man then could not find another eligible woman of the appropriate age and relationship to marry, so he organized a party of men to accompany him on a wife-hunting trip to a neighboring, but unrelated, village. On arriving he informed the people that he had come to teach them a new and powerful institution, prayer, which he had learned from the missionaries. He had his hosts kneel and bow their heads; then he and his companions fell upon them with machetes and killed them. The visitors seized the hosts' women and fled. In an area where warfare is rare, this incident indelibly underscores the

relationship between the shortage of women and the initiation of inter-village hostilities.[1]

One conclusion I reach, therefore, is that the frequency of hostilities within and between villages varies directly with the opportunities for males to satisfy their sexual desires in a socially acceptable way. In other words, internal village fighting and inter-village warfare should diminish in proportion to the increase in number of women to which each man has sexual access. Several kinds of data support this conclusion. First, the histories of the five villages and the data on village movements and warfare during 1964-66 show that most village splitting and most village warfare arise from feuds over women. Second, there was no fighting within Lower Bisaasi-tedi during the 15 months of my field work. This village has no adult bachelors, and has a male/female sex-ratio close to 1.0. Third, when missionaries changed the Yąnomamö attitudes toward coitus with pregnant and lactating women in one village, internal feuding reduced markedly.[2] Fourth, the data from the Uraricaá Yąnomamö on extra-marital sexual relationships imply that

[1] I cite this incident because it is an unambiguous--perhaps even classic--example of a war developing due to a shortage of women. I am in no sense criticizing the missionaries; they can not be held responsible for the violent nature of their charges in this or any other case. Their kindness and good example have, in a number of cases with which I am familiar, prevented bloodshed among the Indians.

[2] Personal communication from Mr. Wallace Jank, a New Tribes Missionary working among the Yąnomamö on the Padamo River.

fighting and warfare are reduced when the available women carry on affairs. Thus, I conclude that any factor which increases the sexual activity of females or increases the female/male ratio reduces the frequency of fighting.

The second conclusion I reach is that Yąnomamö marriage practices can be predicted, in a broad sense, once the conditions of warfare are specified. The greater the intensity of warfare, the more marriage practice will deviate from the preferred types. This follows from the fact that the Yąnomamö are forced to base military alliances on exchanges of women, limiting the degree to which ideal marriage preferences are expressed in practice.

We may now turn to a more theoretical discussion. Writing on the functional significance of marriage ties, Leach (1957) drew attention to the importance of economic factors in the integration of affinally-linked corporate descent groups, concluding that such integration as did occur was due largely to the delayed payment of bride price. The existence of this debt had the effect of consolidating the weak affinal ties, for the debtor group was economically bound to the bride-giving group. Although it has been shown above that the solidary ties between any affinally-linked Yąnomamö descent groups are due largely to military, marital and economic obligations, the problem of the lack of solidarity between agnatically related descent groups has not been satisfactorily explained. The instability of relationships between agnatic Yąnomamö corporate descent groups can be reduced to

11. Didihoma. See #28, Wanasinawë, below.

12. Dimõrama. This girl was abducted from a distant Shamatari village (Koboroshi-tedi, probably in Brazil, on the Upper Cauaburi River) by the Reyabobõwei-tedi and Mõmaribõwei-tedi. Her husband--the man to whom she was given after being abducted--shot her in the stomach with a barbed arrow, wounding her grievously (see Shiborowë, below). The man was forced to flee from the village and take refuge in Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as other men in the village planned to use this incident as an excuse to take his wives from him. In late 1965 a party of men from Lower Bisaasi-tedi, including Shiborowë, set off for Mõmaribõwei-tedi to 'visit.' I accompanied them on their invitation. They were going to Mõmaribõwei-tedi to take Dimõrama away from her protectors by force, if necessary, and asked me to come along knowing that I always travelled with a gun, presuming that my presence, with a gun, would aid in their objective. The girl was very nearly dead when we arrived (four months had passed since she was shot, and the wound was badly inflected). As the Bisaasi-tedi were one of the only allies of the Mõmaribõwei-tedi, they gave up the girl without much argument, since she would have died anyway. (The New Tribes Missionaries took the girl to the Territorial Capital by canoe for surgery in January 1966. She recovered from the wound and is presently living in Lower Bisaasi-tedi.)

21. Kakoma. This is one of the seven women abducted from the Patanowë-tedi in late 1964 by the Monou-tedi. She was taken from her Monou-tedi husband by force by the Lower Bisaasi-tedi and given to Kõobauwë, one of the village bachelors.

23. Katabema. See Shiborowë, below.

000 26. Mamorakomi. See Shiborowë, below.

159 593 596 589 *628 28. Manasinawë. This man is originally from Hasaböwë-tedi, but he moved to Bisaasi-tedi around 1940-45, along with a brother, a wife, and a daughter. His wife deserted him in Bisaasi-tedi, fleeing to Shibariwë-tedi. After the treacherous feast of 1950-51, in which Manasinawë's brother was killed, he was given Hikarima, one of the widows of that incident. He had one daughter by this woman (Didihoma, above); she is promised to Bokoeiwë. His other daughter, by his first wife, is married to Kpobiwë, headman of Upper Bisaasi-tedi. Manasinawë's father was killed by Husiwë of Patanowë-tedi, so he joined the Bisaasi-tedi to take revenge on the Patanowë-tedi, as the two villages were at war then.

• [921]

159 593 *621 *628 39. Shiborowë. He fled from his native village, Mönariböwei-tedi, to avoid a fight and the possible loss of his wives. He shot one of his wives in a fit of rage (Dimörama, above), and his rivals took the girl away from him. To avoid a fight in which he had no supporters, he fled to Lower Bisaasi-tedi, as he had given one of his daughters (Monomi) to a man in that village. He brought his second wife (Mamorakomi) and his three juvenile children with him (Tiaböwë, Yareama, and Katabema). The Lower Bisaasi-tedi welcomed him, as he had two daughters to claim as wives; they assisted him in recovering his second wife.

000 40. Tiaböwë. See Shiborowë, above.

50. Yareama. See Shiborowë, above.

1

Doing Fieldwork among the Yąnomamö

101 131 161 162 361 101 179 THE YĄNOMAMÖ[1] INDIANS live in southern Venezuela and the adjacent portions of northern Brazil (see frontispiece map, p. *iv*). Some 125 widely scattered villages have populations ranging from 40 to 250 inhabitants, with 75 to 80 people the most usual number. In total numbers their population probably approaches 10,000 people, but this is merely a guess. Many of the villages have not yet been contacted by outsiders, and nobody knows for sure exactly how many uncontacted villages there are, or how many people live in them. By comparison to African or Melanesian tribes, the Yąnomamö population is small. Still, they are one of the largest unacculturated tribes left in all of South America.

• 721 903 181 But they have a significance apart from tribal size and cultural purity: the Yąnomamö are still actively conducting warfare. It is in the nature of man to fight, according to one of their myths, because the blood of "Moon" spilled on this layer of the cosmos, causing men to become fierce. I describe the Yąnomamö as "the fierce people" because that is the most accurate single phrase that describes them. That is how they conceive themselves to be, and that is how they would like others to think of them.

114 122 123 I spent nineteen months with the Yąnomamö,[2] during which time I acquired some proficiency in their language and, up to a point, submerged myself in their culture and _____ way of life.

[1]The word Yąnomamö is nasalized through its entire length, indicated by the diacritical mark (ą). When this mark appears on a word, the entire word is nasalized. The terminal vowel [-ö] represents a sound that does not occur in the English language. It corresponds to the phoneme [ə] of linguistic orthography. In normal conversation, Yąnomamö is pronounced like "Yah-no-mama," except that it is nasalized. Finally, the words having the [-ë] vowel are pronounced as that vowel with the "uh" sound of "duck." Thus, the name Kąbëwë would be pronounced "cow-buh-wuh," again nasalized.

[194]

[2]I spent a total of twenty-three months in South America of which nineteen were spent among the Yąnomamö on three separate field trips. The first trip, November 1964 through February 1966, was to Venezuela. During this time I spent thirteen months in direct contact with the Yąnomamö, using my periodic trips back to Caracas to visit my family and to collate the genealogical data I had collected up to that point. On my second trip, January through March 1967, I spent two months among Brazilian Yąnomamö and one more month with the Venezuelan Yąnomamö. Finally, I returned to Venezuela for three more months among the Yąnomamö, January through April 1968.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanomama SQ18

Fig. 1-1. Members of allied villages engaged in a chest-pounding duel which followed a feast.

way of life. The thing that impressed me most was the importance of aggression in their culture. I had the opportunity to witness a good many incidents that expressed individual vindictiveness on the one hand and collective bellicosity on the other. These ranged in seriousness from the ordinary incidents of wife beating and chest pounding to dueling and organized raiding by parties that set out with the intention of ambushing and killing men from enemy villages (Fig. 1-1). One of the villages discussed in the chapters that follow was raided approximately twenty-five times while I conducted the fieldwork, six times by the group I lived among.

11: Chagnon 8-6 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ13 Yanoama SQ13

721 • 181 129 114

The fact that the Yąnomamö live in a state of chronic warfare is reflected in their mythology, values, settlement pattern, political behavior, and marriage practices. Accordingly, I have organized this case study in such a way that students can appreciate the effects of warfare on Yąnomamö culture in general and on their social organization and politics in particular (Fig. 1–2).

I collected the data under somewhat trying circumstances, some of which I will describe in order to give the student a rough idea of what is generally meant when anthropologists speak of "culture shock" and "fieldwork." It should be borne in mind, however, that each field situation is in many respects unique, so that the problems I encountered do not necessarily exhaust the range of possible problems other anthropologists have confronted in other areas. There are a few problems, however, that seem to be nearly universal among anthropological fieldworkers, particularly those having to do with eating, bathing, sleeping, lack of privacy and loneliness, or discovering that primitive man is not always as noble as you originally thought.

This is not to state that primitive man everywhere is unpleasant. By way of contrast, I have also done limited fieldwork among the Yąnomamö's northern neighbors, the Carib-speaking Makiritare Indians. This group was very pleasant and charming, all

Fig. 1-2. One way that warfare affects other aspects of Yąnomamö social organization is in the great significance of intervillage alliances. Here members of an allied village dance excitedly in their hosts' village in anticipation of the feast and chest-pounding duel that will follow.

392 301 411 535 623* 578 291

*621 *623 Village size is an important factor in determining the degree to which a Yąnomamö group must depend on its neighbors for military support in the face of raids. Small villages must make alliances to survive. Village size, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, ranges *621 from 40 to 250 inhabitants. Approximately one-third of the village consists of males who 701 are able to participate in the raiding, that is, men who are between 17 and 40 years old. 742 The tactics of warfare are such that a village must be able to field a raiding party of approximately 10 men in order to be able to raid effectively. In addition, when the raiders are away, there must always be a few men at home to protect the women and children. Thus, the military requirements alone seem to demand that a village have at least 15 able-bodied men. As these represent about a third of the group, the minimum village size required by the raiding techniques is 40 to 50 people. I have never seen a village fall below this size in an area where raiding is active, and virtually every village split I investigated took place only when each of the resulting groups contained 40 or more people.

*621 The upper limit to village size is also determined in large measure by the intensity * 721 of warfare. The village of Patanowä-teri, for example, has over 200 people. It was being .724 raided actively by about a dozen different groups while I conducted my fieldwork, groups that raided it about twenty-five times in a period of fifteen months. The Patanowä-teri at one time had split into three groups of about equal size, but raids from their enemies forced them to reunite for common defense. In general, a village will fission after it [978] reaches a population of about 150 because internal feuds and fights are so frequent that peace can only be maintained with great difficulty. A village of 100 individuals, for example, can fission to produce two militarily viable groups of about 50 people each. Only the threat of raids from powerful neighbors will, as in the case of the Patanowä-teri, inhibit the fissioning, and frequently the fission groups will reunite in a single village to fend off the raids of their enemies.

* [608] But a small group of 40 to 50 people is not as viable as a group twice that size. Consequently, it enters into alliances with its neighbors.

*621 FISSION AND SETTLEMENT There is a tendency for the group to attempt to 582 maximize its size after it becomes an independent entity. This is done by trying to keep 666 all marriages within the group so that there is very little migration of young men and women to other villages after marriage. A small group also welcomes the addition of families from other villages, families that have gotten into fights in their own group and who prefer to leave rather than attempt to patch up their grievances with their kinsmen. Finally, the group tries to attract young men and women from other villages, encouraging them to settle permanently in the group. Rerebawä, for example, is under considerable pressure to remain permanently in Kąobawä's group.

*621 As the village grows in size and varies in composition, it becomes increasingly 578 difficult to keep order and peace. Extramarital sexual liaisons are more frequent in larger 837 villages, because the probability is lower that the affairs will be discovered. When the Monou-teri rejoined Kąobawä's group to avoid the raids of their enemies, a bloody club fight developed between two men of that village over an affair one of them had with the other's wife. The culprit waited until the group joined Kąobawä's village before approaching the woman, thinking that with so many people in one village he would not be caught.

By the time a village approaches 100 to 150 people, such fights over women are

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

so frequent that the group elects to fission rather than attempt to keep an uneasy internal peace. Although a larger village has an advantage in terms of its capacity to raid other groups and is better able to defend itself from raids, the internal fights often lead to killings within the group. Then, there is no alternative but for one of the factions to leave. Its members may anticipate a situation like this and begin making a new garden long before the fighting becomes violent enough to lead to deaths, or a fight can develop unexpectedly and result immediately in bloodshed. The guilty faction must then seek refuge in the village of an ally until it can establish its own garden. Usually, however, the larger group fissions while its members are on relatively peaceable terms, and the two resulting villages remain in the same general area so that they can reunite when raids threaten them. This is the situation that prevails between Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri; all three have a common history as a single village, but the members of each live in separate villages because of the numerous fights that took place within the group while they were still a single village. They continue, however, to rely on each other for protection when raids threaten. The Monou-teri (see Fig. 2-8), in fact, spent about a third of their time in either Lower Bisaasi-teri or in Kaobawä's group while I conducted my fieldwork. They were being raided by the Patanowä-teri and had not completed the new garden they were making. The Patanowä-teri forced them to abandon their producing site and move west.

The Patanowä-teri themselves were forced to establish a new garden because of the incessant raids by a number of villages. In addition to keeping always on the move between their two gardens, they also sought periodic refuge in the village of one of their own allies, a village two days travel to the south of their primary garden.

The raids against the Patanowä-teri by about a dozen villages illustrate a cardinal strategy of Yanomamö warfare: attack a group when it is beleaguered and weakened by other enemies. When I first arrived, the Patanowä-teri were fighting only three groups. The Monou-teri then entered into the conflict by abducting a number of women from them, an act that ultimately led to raiding and killing. When the Monou-teri entered the conflict, they also persuaded their own allies to participate, bringing four other villages into the war. These, in turn, were joined by some of their allies so that the total number of belligerent villages rapidly grew to about a dozen. Many of them joined the hostilities because they knew that the Patanowä-teri could not defend themselves against a host of enemies. The new belligerents, therefore, stood a good chance of abducting women while being relatively immune to punitive raids. They could also discharge obligations to their allies by supporting their raids against the Patanowä-teri without exposing themselves to great danger.

In Fig. 2-8 the movements of Kaobawä's village over the past seventy-five years is summarized. The village originated at the site of Konata, occupied prior to 1900 by Kaobawä's grandfather. This site was abandoned because several villages (not indicated on the map) began raiding the people with such frequency that they were forced to flee south, cross the Orinoco River, and take refuge with allies at a place called Wareta. Similarly, Wareta was abandoned because of new wars, so the group again crossed the Orinoco River and settled at Namowei. Here, their old enemies again drove them out of the area, so the group migrated to Hahoyaoba. Kaobawä was born at this location, some forty years ago. This site was abandoned because the soil in that area was very poor; even to this day, there are no Yanomamö villages located in that general area.

361 The group then crossed the Orinoco for the third time and settled, sometime
578 around 1925 or 1930, at Patanowä. By this time their numbers had increased to such a level that internal feuds were frequent. As the result of many fights, the group split into two villages in about 1940, and eventually entered into hostilities. The part of the village
[101] that remained behind took the name Patanowä-teri and has remained to the present at that site. Kaobawä's group fled to Shihota, but was driven from there to Kreiböwei by the Patanowä-teri. They occupied this site in 1950–1951, when they were massacred during a
361 feast by the members of two Shamatari villages to their south. This led them to take
726 temporary refuge in the village of Mahekodo-teri on the Orinoco River, as they had
• 721 not had time to make a new garden. Their site at Kobou was established while they
• 608 lived with the Mahekodo-teri. It was only a vantage point from which they could estab-
[241] lish gardens in more suitable areas, areas that were too far removed from Mahekodo-teri to permit the establishment of the gardens in a single move. Thus, Kobou was abandoned after only a few years' occupation there.

361 Kaobawä's group split in the process of abandoning the Kobou garden in 1954,
• 621 a part of them taking the name Monou-teri. The Monou-teri still live at the site they
[721] established in 1954, but they were in the process of abandoning it in 1966 because of
[722] renewed raids from the Patanowä-teri. Kaobawä's group moved to the Orinoco again,
[101] to the site called Barauwä. By 1959 foreigners had finally reached this area, so Kaobawä
[648] and his followers moved down the Orinoco to the mouth of the Mavaca River to establish contact there with a government malaria post. They hoped to obtain steel tools from the family of foreigners at the post. They split into two factions after settling, half of them moving to the opposite bank of the Mavaca River. Thus, Bisaasi-teri has an
[101] upstream and a downstream settlement, and the members of these two groups refer to themselves as the Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri, respectively, Bisaasi being the name of a grass commonly found around gardens.

361 Similarly, the Shamatari villages, indicated as circles in Fig. 2–8, have a settlement
• 621 pattern characterized by internal village disputes leading to fissioning, gardens being
578 abandoned because of warfare, and a general movement to the south and west away
722 from the Orinoco headwaters. The history of the Shamatari villages is a little more
184 complicated than the history of Kaobawä's group, since village fissioning began much earlier in their moves and produced many more villages. This was probably due to the fact that their original location had more inhabitants. The history of the villages marked as hexagons on the map, Fig. 2–8, is nearly identical in its over-all pattern to the above two groups of villages.

361 Kaobawä's group and the two Shamatari villages of Momariböwei-teri and Reya-
[134] boböwei-teri (see Fig. 2–8) have, together, made some sixteen major moves during the past seventy-five years (Chagnon 1966, Chap. V). Only one of them was stimulated by poor soil conditions; one additional move was the result of the coming of foreigners. The
[648] remaining fourteen major moves resulted from either raids emanating from hostile neigh-
[722] bors, or internal village feuds that led to bloodshed and caused a split in the local group.[9]
[578] This should suffice to demonstrate that the political and military relationships between

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 44]

[9]This figure does not include the moves that took place while I lived with the Yanomamö. See Chapter 5 for a discussion of these.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

sexually active females. Some of the teen-age males have homosexual affairs with each other; the females of their own age are usually married. By the time a young man is twenty years old or so he is anxious to display his masculinity, and at that point becomes a competitor for the sexual favors of the village belles—married belles. This causes considerable friction and results in club fighting. (See Chapter 5.)

Still another factor leads to breeches of the marriage rule: chance. In some villages there are disproportionately more males (or females) of the same lineage because of the way in which the group split from a different village. Again, there may be no eligible females when a young man is old enough to marry. His only choice is to seek a wife in a different village. Rerebawä, for example, was forced into this situation. His own village is quite small (about 50 people), but it is dominated numerically by members of his own lineage. Hence, most of the females in the village are related to him as mother, sister, or daughter. The remaining females are married to his older brothers. He therefore came to Upper Bisaasi-teri—an ally of his village—to seek a wife.

Thus, political necessity, cultural practices relating to population control, unequal distribution of women, and chance combine to produce situations in which people cannot follow their prescriptive marriage rules. The factors dealing with politics are the most meaningful in explanations of the discrepancy between Yąnomamö marriage behavior and ideal models of that behavior.

POLITICAL BASIS The importance of politics can be demonstrated by citing a few incidents in the history of several villages and explaining how alliances and hostilities develop over time.

In Chapter 1 I briefly described the political milieu within which Kąobawä's village was situated. The relationships that exist at the present time make considerably more sense when they are viewed in the perspective of the historical events that led up to them. The reasons for village fissions and wars and why particular villages have entered into alliances with each other will now be explored briefly.[14]

The more important political ties currently maintained by Kąobawä's group have antecedents that go back to approximately 1940. At that time the present villages of Patanowä-teri, Monou-teri, and Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri were one large village (see Fig. 2–8). In 1940, they were known collectively as the Patanowä-teri. To their south was a series of villages whose residents are collectively known as the Shamatari people. The Patanowä-teri were on friendly terms with most of the Shamatari and frequently visited them in order to trade. Just prior to 1940, an epidemic, probably malaria, resulted in the deaths of a number of Patanowä-teri. The Shamatari were suspected of causing the epidemic by practicing harmful magic. The first Shamatari man to visit the village after the epidemic, Ruwahiwä, was treacherous killed by a man who presently lives in Monou-teri; he bashed his head open with an axe. This immediately precipitated a war between the Patanowä-teri and several of the Shamatari villages.

A few years after the war started the Patanowä-teri fissioned into two groups: they relocated their gardens, but remained fairly close to each other geographically. This split was caused by constant bickering within the group and club fights over women. The two new villages thus formed were friendly enough to each other to live in the same

[14] I discussed these relationships in considerable detail in my doctoral dissertation, Chagnon, 1966. The following account is a simplified version.

14

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

general area, but too hostile to remain together in a single village. Largely due to food theft, their mutual political relationships gradually worsened. The two groups returned to the old site in order to harvest the fruits of the cultivated peach-palm tree, as each tree is owned by the person who plants it. Some of the fruit belonging to a man in one of the groups was stolen by a man in the other group. This led to a club fight between the two villages, after which they parted on hostile terms. The group that included Kąobawä decided to abandon their new garden and establish another one further away, anticipating a raid from the other group. Ultimately, the members of the two villages began raiding each other and entered into a prolonged and bloody war that was still raging when I left the field in 1967.

About 1949, to avoid the Patanowä-teri raids, Kąobawä and his group moved to an even more remote location. From here, they began visiting one of the Shamatari villages, Iwahikoroba-teri, located to the south of them. Unfortunately, the people of Iwahikoroba-teri were allied to the Shamatari group (Ruwahiwä's village) with which Kąobawä's group was at war. At the instigation of Kąobawä's enemies, the Iwahikoroba-teri invited his group to a feast during which many of them were treacherously killed, including Kąobawä's father. This incident took place sometime in the period December–January of 1950–1951. The survivors, many of them badly wounded, fled to a newly cleared garden site they had established a day's walk north of their village. They returned to their village only to obtain food, which they carried back to their new but nonproducing garden. After the wounded had removed the arrow points and were on the road to recovery, the group moved back into their producing garden. By this time word of the treachery had spread to all the villages in the area. The headman of Mahekodo-teri, the only village located on the Orinoco River in 1950, visited Kąobawä's group and invited them to take refuge with his people.[15] Kąobawä and his group readily accepted the invitation, and they moved into Mahekodo-teri, knowing that they could prosecute the war with the Shamatari only if they had allies and could raid from a great distance. Their own village was too close to Shamatari territory, and their capacity to raid was greatly reduced after so many of their men had been killed.

Kąobawä knew that the generous offer from the Mahekodo-teri was not entirely stimulated by altruistic motives. In 1910 his group had been forced to take refuge with an ally because of a war; the ally demanded in return many of the guests' women. Similarly, the Mahekodo-teri coerced Kąobawä's group into ceding a number of women, the price a weakened and dependent village must pay for the support of a stronger ally. It was later learned that the Mahekodo-teri planned to kill the rest of the men and abduct all of the women, but an unexpected war delayed their plot. (See Chagnon 1966.) Two of Kąobawä's sisters were among those claimed by the Mahekodo-teri; one of them still lives there, and the other was taken away from her Mahekodo-teri husband by force by Rerebawä's brother.

Kąobawä and his group lived with their protectors off-and-on for about a year, while they worked assiduously at making their new gardens. Because of internal fighting, they decided to make two new gardens and form two separate villages. The year was

[15] James P. Barker of the New Tribes Mission had just moved into Mahekodo-teri a few months earlier, marking the beginning of the Yanomamö's first sustained contact with any outsiders. He witnessed the arrival of Kąobawä's group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

spent according to a schedule of work alternated with periods of rest. They would live in the Mahekodo-teri village for about three weeks at a stretch, resting from their gardening tasks, and return to their new gardens for about three weeks of intensive clearing and cultivation. Their plantings and seeds were provided by the Mahekodo-teri.[16] They carried their provisions from the Mahekodo-teri gardens while they worked at their new gardens, sending men back for more as these ran short. As soon as one of the new gardens was producing, they moved away from the Mahekodo-teri. The second garden was completed after their move, and the Monou-teri separated from Kąbowä's group. This was about 1954. During the time they lived with the Mahekodo-teri, they raided the Shamatari frequently, and were raided in return. The Shamatari ambushed and killed two Mahekodo-teri on one raid, causing the Mahekodo-teri to actively prosecute the war with the Shamatari to avenge these deaths.

Kąobawä's group abondoned the new site and moved to the Orinoco River shortly after the Monou-teri separated from them. They had established a garden on the Orinoco during the time that the Monou-teri were completing their own site. In short, the garden that was made while Kąobawä and his group lived with the Mahekodo-teri was simply a vantage point that permitted the group to take leave of its protectors as soon as possible, while they established gardens in more desirable locations.

Kąobawä's group moved down the Orinoco River in 1959–1960, after having lived at the new site only five years. This move was stimulated by the appearance of a government malaria team that established a small station at the mouth of the Mavaca River. Kąobawä's group moved across the river from them in order to be in a position to obtain steel tools from the newly arrived foreigners. Kąobawä's group fissioned again in the process of this move; the Lower Bisaasi-teri established a separate garden and built their own village just across the Mavaca River from Kąobawä's group. The fission was not complete, however, as both sections of Bisaasi-teri built a common village that they occupied during the dry season, when they conducted their feasts and went on raiding parties.

Kąobawä's group made contacts with a large Shamatari village, Paruritawä-teri, shortly after having moved to the mouth of the Mavaca River in 1959–1960. This village had fissioned from one of the Shamatari groups that participated in the treacherous feast in 1950 and was on semifriendly terms with it. Thus, Kąobawä and his group saw an opportunity to get revenge on their archenemies. They cultivated an alliance with the Paruritawä-teri and succeeded in getting them to participate in a treacherous feast. The Paruritawä-teri themselves were fissioning into two groups, so they made two new gardens southwest of Kąobawä's village in preparation for the treacherous feast. The feast invitation was sent (1960) to the unsuspecting Shamatari by the Paruritawä-teri. But many of them were sick, and only five men and four women ultimately came to the treacherous feast at Paruritawä-teri. Kąobawä and his followers, as well as the Monou-teri, secreted themselves outside the village while the Paruritawä-teri entertained the hapless guests inside. They managed to kill three of the five men and seized all of the women. The Paruritawä-teri abandoned their garden, anticipating the inevitable revenge raids and moved to the two new sites, fissioning into two groups of about 95 people.

This treacherous feast put the Paruritawä-teri in a very poor position. They were (and are) the westernmost Yąnomamö in the area, and their closest neighbors were the

[16] James Barker informed me of the schedule followed by Kąobawä and his group.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Kąobawä's group. All their other neighbors, allied to the victims of the treacherous feast, relentlessly raided them. They were, in short, extremely dependent on Kąobawä's group and the two other villages related to Kąobawä's group.

Kąobawä and his followers have astutely finessed this situation in two ways. First, they have managed to coerce the two Shamatari villages into ceding women without reciprocating an equal number of their own in return. The men who have obtained Shamatari wives have, as well, managed to cut short their period of bride service in the Shamatari village. Conversely, Shamatari men who have been promised women of Kąobawä's group are pressed into very lengthy bride service, sometimes up to three years. Secondly, Kąobawä's group has prevented the two Shamatari allies from re-establishing friendly contacts with the other Shamatari to their southeast by chicane, threat, and intimidation. One of the two Shamatari allies, the Reyaboböwei-teri, has attempted a rapprochement with the Shamatari enemies of Kąobawä's group. In 1965, several months after I had been living in Kąobawä's village, Kąobawä's group managed to stage another treacherous feast for the old enemies by taking advantage of the renewed ties between the Reyaboböwei-teri and the enemies. They learned that the Reyaboböwei-teri planned to invite one of the villages to a feast, so they, along with the Monou-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Mǫ̈mariböwei-teri, went to the feast in order to ambush the guests. The Reyaboböwei-teri, however, were reluctant to go through with the plan and warned the visitors about it. The visitors were en route to the village when word of the treachery reached them. This had the effect of creating even more difficulties for the Reyaboböwei-teri, for it is highly unlikely that they will succeed in gaining the confidence of their neighbors to the southeast. Nevertheless, some visiting between the groups still continues.[17]

The historical relationships between the villages helps account for the reasons behind contemporary alliance patterns. The discrepancy between marriage rules and actual marriage practice in Lower Bisaasi-teri is a result of the political advantages that group enjoys over one of its allies. It has used this advantage to gain a favorable imbalanced marriage exchange pattern, but one that is only temporary. The Shamatari are also shrewd in their alliance practices, and have succeeded in neutralizing their disadvantages by capitalizing on schisms between Kąobawä's group and Lower Bisaasi-teri. This has been done largely by confining their marriage exchanges to important men in the dominant lineages of Upper and Lower Bisaasi-teri. One of the Shamatari villages, Mǫ̈maribowei-teri, has restricted its exchanges to Lower Bisaasi-teri and Monou-teri, while completely ignoring Upper Bisaasi-teri. The other Shamatari village has given its women only to Upper Bisaasi-teri. This has resulted in the weakening of ties between the three villages of Upper Bisaasi-teri, Lower Bisaasi-teri, and Monou-teri, whose members are

[17] I plan to use these visiting ties to establish contact with the Shamatari villages in that area, none of which have had contact with outsiders. These uncontacted Shamatari, however, know who I am because I attempted to reach them in 1965. They subsequently sent a message out urging me to visit them, angry because my guides forced me to turn back on my first attempt. In 1966 they even sent an old man to Kąobawä's village by way of Reyaboböwei-teri with an invitation for me to visit them. I had already left Venezuela by that time. Most of the men in the two contacted Shamatari villages tried to prevent me from going by telling horrible tales of the treachery that awaited my visit, describing how the Shamatari will kill me. The truth of the matter is that they know that I will bring the uncontacted Shamatari machetes and axes that might otherwise be given to them. The headman of one of the uncontacted villages has a brother in Mǫmariböwei-teri. He privately conceded that no harm would befall me and offered to take me to visit in 1967. He was, unfortunately, bitten by a snake just before I arrived in March of 1967, and my plans were deferred until 1968.

fidelity. Many men, however, show their ferocity by meting out serious punishment to their wives for even minor offenses. It is not uncommon for a man to injure his errant wife seriously; and some men have even killed wives.

Women expect this kind of treatment and many of them measure their husband's concern in terms of the frequency of minor beatings they sustain. I overheard two young women discussing each other's scalp scars. One of them commented that the other's husband must really care for her since he has beaten her on the head so frequently!

A woman usually depends for protection on her brothers, who will defend her against a cruel husband. If a man is too brutal to a wife, her brothers may take the woman away from him and give her to another man. It is largely for this reason that women abhor the possibility of being married off to men in distant villages; they know that their brothers cannot protect them under these circumstances. Women who have married a male cross-cousin have an easier life, for they are related to their husbands by cognatic ties of kinship as well as by marriage. Kąobawä, for example, is related to Bahimi as FaSiSo, and their marital relationship is very tranquil by Yąnomamö standards. He does beat Bahimi on occasion, but never cruelly. It is considered good to beat a wife every once in a while just to show your concern for her.

A young man in Monou-teri shot and killed his wife a few years before I conducted my fieldwork. Even while I was there, a man in one of the villages shot his wife in the stomach with a barbed arrow. Considerable internal injury resulted when the arrow was removed. The missionaries had her sent out by airplane to the Territorial capital for surgery. Her wound had gotten infected, and the girl was near death by the time the incident came to their attention. Another man chopped his wife on the arm with a machete; the missionaries in that village feared that the woman would lose the use of her hand because some of the tendons to her fingers were severed. A fight involving a case of infidelity took place in one of the villages just before I left the field. The male culprit was killed in the club fight, and the recalcitrant wife had both her ears cut off by her enraged husband. A number of other women had their ears badly mutilated by angry husbands. The women wear sticks of cane in their pierced ear lobes; these are easily grabbed by the husband. A few men jerked these so hard that they tore their wives' ear lobes open.

It is not difficult to understand, then, why Yąnomamö women in general have such a vindictive and caustic attitude toward the external world. By the time a woman is thirty years old she has "lost her shape" and has developed a rather unpleasant disposition. Women tend to seek refuge and consolation in each other's company, sharing their misery with their peers.

A woman gains a measure of respect when she becomes old. By then she has adult children who care for her and treat her kindly. Old women also have a unique position in the world of intervillage warfare and politics. They are immune from the incursions of raiders and can go from one village to another with complete disregard for personal danger. In this connection they are employed as messengers and, on some occasions, as the recoverers of bodies. If a man is killed near the village of an enemy, an old woman from the slain man's village is permitted to recover his body.

Still, the women have one method by which they can exercise a measure of influence over village politics. All women fear being abducted by raiders and always leave the village with this anxiety at the back of their minds. Women always bring their

211 Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ19

Women always bring their children with them, particularly younger children, so that if they are abducted, the child will not starve to death because of the separation of the mother. They are therefore concerned with the political behavior of their men and occasionally goad them into taking action against some possible enemy by caustically accusing the men of cowardice. This has the effect of establishing the village's reputation for ferocity, reducing the possibility of raiders abducting the women while they are out collecting firewood or garden produce. The men cannot stand being chided by the women in this fashion, and are forced to take action if the women unite against them.

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CHILD-ADULT DIVISION Despite the fact that children of both sexes spend much of their time with their mothers, the boys alone are treated with considerable indulgence by their fathers from an early age. Thus, the distinction between male and female status develops early in the socialization process, and the boys are quick to learn their favored position with respect to girls. They are encouraged to be "fierce" and are rarely punished by their parents for inflicting blows on them or on the hapless girls in the village. Kaobewã, for example, lets Ariwari beat him on the face and head to express his anger and temper, laughing and commenting on his ferocity. Although Ariwari is only about four years old, he has already learned that the appropriate response to a flash of anger is to strike someone with his hand or with an object, and it is not uncommon for him to give his father a healthy smack in the face whenever something displeases him. He is frequently goaded into hitting his father by teasing, being rewarded by gleeful cheers of assent from his mother and from the other adults in the household.

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Fig. 3-7. Ariwari, Kaobewã's favorite son, building a make-believe house while camping with his father. His "sister" (father's brother's daughter) looks on.

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men built his own section of the village, but in such a way that the roofs coincided and could be attached by simply extending the thatching. When completed, the village looked like a continuous, oval-shaped lean-to because of the way in which the roofs of the discrete houses were attached. Each house, however, is owned by the family that built it. Sharaiwä, Kąobawä's youngest brother, helped build Kąobawä's house and shares it with him. He also shares Koamashima, Kąobawä's younger wife. Kąobawä's older wife, Bahimi, hangs her hammock adjacent to Kąobawä's most of the time, but when there are visitors and the village is crowded, she ties her hammock under his in order to be able to tend the fire during the night. Ariwari still sleeps with his mother, but will get his own hammock soon: He is nearly four years old. His parents are afraid he will fall into the fire at night and get burned, since he is still a little too young to sleep alone.[21]

Daily activities begin early in a Yąnomamö village. One can hear people chatting lazily and children crying long before it is light enough to see. Most people are waked by the cold and build up the fire just before daybreak. They usually go back to sleep, but many of them visit and talk about their plans for the day.

The entrances are all covered with dry brush so that any movement of people through them is heard all over the village. There is always a procession of people leaving the village at dawn to relieve themselves in the nearby garden, and the noise they make going in and out of the village usually awakens the others.

The village is very smoky at this time of day, since the newly stoked campfires smoulder before they leap into flames. The air is usually very still and chilly, and the ground is damp from the dew. The smoke is pleasant and seems to drive away the coolness.

Clandestine sexual liasons usually take place at this time of day, having been arranged on the previous evening. The lovers leave the village on the pretext of going to the bathroom and meet at some predetermined location. They return to the village by opposite routes.

This is also the time of day when raiders strike, so people must be cautious when they leave the village at dawn. If there is some reason to suspect raiders, they do not leave the confines of the upright log palisade that surrounds the village. They wait instead until full light and leave the village in armed groups.

By the time it is light enough to see, everybody has started preparing breakfast. This consists largely of roasted green plantains, easily prepared and steaming hot. If the family has any meat, it is taken down and shared, the children getting the best portions. Leftover meat is hung over the fire by a vine to keep the vermin off it and to preserve it.

If any of the men have made plans to hunt that day, they leave the village before it is light. Wild turkeys can be easily taken at this time of day because they roost in conspicuous places. During the dry season the *bashimo* (a kind of grouse) sing before dark and can be readily located. If any were heard the night before, the men leave at dawn to stalk them.

Tobacco chewing starts as soon as people begin stirring. Those who have fresh

[21] A child fell into a fire and burned to death in 1966—the mother had placed her hammock too close to the fire in order to keep warm, and the baby slipped from her arms while she slept. Bahimi's mother also sleeps in Kąobawä's house, but he does not have to avoid her because she is an old woman.

On another occasion a group of men from Patanowä-teri arrived to explore with Kąobawä the possibility of peace between their two villages. They were brothers-in-law to him and were fairly certain that he would protect them from the village hotheads. One of the ambitious men in Kąobawä's group saw in this an opportunity to enhance his prestige and made plans to murder the three visitors. This man, Paruriwä, was a very cunning, treacherous fellow and quite jealous of Kąobawä's position as headman. He wanted to be the village leader and privately told me to address him as the headman. On this occasion Kąobawä let it be known that he intended to protect the visitors. For the better part of the day the village was in a state of suspense. Paruriwä and his followers were not to be found anywhere; a rumor spread that they had painted themselves black and were well armed. Kąobawä and his supporters, mostly his own brothers and brothers-in-law, remained in the village all day, their weapons close at hand. Late in the afternoon Paruriwä and his men appeared in their black paint and took up strategic posts around the village. He himself held an axe. He strutted arrogantly up to the visitors holding his axe as if he were ready to strike. The village became very quiet, and most of the women and children left. Neither Kąobawä nor the Patanowä-teri visitors batted an eyelash when Paruriwä approached, although the others were visibly nervous and sat up in their hammocks. Instead of striking the visitors with the axe as he appeared to suggest he was going to do, he invited one of them out to chant with him. Within seconds all three of the visitors had paired off with members of Paruriwä's group and were chanting passionately with them, explaining the reasons for their visit and giving their justification for the state of hostilites.

The crisis has been averted because of Kąobawä's implied threat that he would defend the visitors with force. A number of men in Paruriwä's group were visitors from Monou-teri; their headman had been killed a few months earlier by the Patanowä-teri. When Paruriwä failed to go through with his plan, they left the village in a rage, hoping to recruit a raiding party in their own village and ambush the visitors when they left.

Kąobawä realized that the visitors would not be safe until they got back home, since the Monou-teri would attempt to intercept them. He visited me that night and asked me to take the visitors back to their village at dawn in my canoe, knowing that I had already planned a trip there for the immediate future. After I agreed to accelerate my own plans, he proceeded to give me instructions about the trip: I was not to stop at any of the villages along the Orinoco River to visit, for all of them were at war with the Patanowä-teri and would shoot my companions on sight. The Patanowä-teri men lay on the floor of my canoe and covered themselves with a tarp when we passed these villages. The people on the bank shouted curses at me for not stopping to visit and give them trade goods. At this time the Patanowä-teri were being raided by about a dozen different villages. We had to cover part of the distance to their village on foot, proceeding very cautiously because of the danger of raiders. At one point the men showed me the spot where a Hasaböwä-teri raiding party had killed a Patanowä-teri woman a week earlier. Thus, Kąobawä not only protected the visitors while they were in his village but he also arranged a "safe-conduct" for their return.

Kąobawä keeps order in the village when people get out of hand. Paruriwä, for example, is particularly cruel to his four wives and beats them mercilessly for even slight provocations. None of his wives have brothers in the village, and few people are courageous enough to interfere with Paruriwä when he is angry. On one occasion Kąobawä was holding a feast for the members of an allied village. His preparations were being

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

5

Yąnomamö Warfare

Levels of Violence

THE FEAST AND ALLIANCE can and often do fail to establish stable, amicable relationships between sovereign villages. When this happens, the groups may coexist for a period of time without any overt expressions of hostility. This, however, is an unstable situation, and no two villages that are within comfortable walking distance from each other can maintain such a relationship indefinitely: They must become allies, or hostility is likely to develop between them. Indifference leads to ignorance or suspicion, and this soon gives way to accusations of sorcery. Once the relationship is of this sort, a death in one of the villages will be attributed to the malevolent *hekura* sent by shamans in the other village, and raids will eventually take place between them.

Yąnomamö warfare proper is the raid. That is, not all of their feuding and squabbles can be considered as war, although the values associated with war—bellicosity, ferocity, and violence—undoubtedly increase the amount of all kinds of fighting.

War is only one form of violence in a graded series of aggressive activities (Chagnon 1967). Indeed, some of the other forms of fighting, such as the formal chest-pounding duel, may even be considered as the antithesis of war, for it provides an alternative to killing. Duels are formal and are regulated by stringent rules about proper ways to deliver and receive blows. Much of Yąnomamö fighting is kept innocuous by these rules so that the concerned parties do not have to resort to drastic means to resolve their grievances. The three most innocuous forms of violence, chest pounding, side slapping, and club fights, permit the contestants to express their hostilities in such a way that they can continue to remain on relatively peaceful terms with each other after the contest is settled. Thus, Yąnomamö culture calls forth aggressive behavior, but at the same time provides a regulated system in which the expressions of violence can be controlled.

The most innocuous form of fighting is the chest-pounding duel described in the last chapter. These duels usually take place between the members of different villages and are precipitated by such minor affronts as malicious gossip, accusations of cowardice, stinginess with food, or niggardliness in trading.

11: Chagnon / E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

164 302 Fig. 5–1). Others keep their heads shaved for decorative reasons only, irrespective of the number of scars they bear. Some do not shave their heads at all.

Club fighting is frequent in large villages, primarily because there are more opportunities for men to establish clandestine sexual liaisons without getting caught at it. Most affairs are, however, discovered. The larger the village, the more frequent the club fighting; and as fighting increases, so too does the probability that the village will fission and result in two separate groups. Most village fissioning I investigated resulted from a specific club fight over a woman, a fight that was merely one such incident in a whole series of similar squabbles.

The village of Patanowä-teri split during the last month of my first field trip. One of the young men took the wife of another because she was allegedly being mistreated by him. This resulted in a brutal club fight that involved almost every man in the village. The fight escalated to jabbing with the sharpened ends of the clubs when the husband of the woman in question was speared by his rival and wounded. The headman of the [822] village, a brother of Kąobawä, had been attempting to keep the fighting restricted to clubs. When the husband's rival speared his opponent, the headman went into a rage and speared him in turn, running his own sharpened club completely through the young man's body. He died when they tried to remove the weapon. The wife was then given [684] back to her legitimate husband, who punished her by cutting both her ears off with his machete.

[602] The kinsmen of the dead man were then ordered to leave the village before there * [628] was further bloodshed. The aggrieved faction joined the Monou-teri and the Bisaasi-teri [721] because these two groups were at war with their natal village, and they knew that they would have an opportunity to raid their own village to get revenge. The Monou-teri and the two Bisaasi-teri groups accepted these new arrivals; they were kinsmen and would actively prosecute the war against the Patanowä-teri. The hosts, of course, took several women from the refugees, the price a vulnerable group must pay for protection.

578 411 Spears are not commonly used by the Yąnamanö. A rare form of fighting, however, does involve the use of these weapons. It is a formal contest in the sense that the fight is prearranged and the participants agree beforehand to refrain from using their bows and arrows. Fights such as these take place when the members of two villages are not angry enough with each other to shoot to kill, but are too furious to be able to satisfy their grudges with chest pounding or club fighting.

411 531 The spears themselves are about 6 feet long, lightweight, and frequently painted with red and black designs. They are merely peeled saplings sharpened to a long point at the heavy end. Each man makes several of them.

* 628 578 721 593 The single spear-throwing incident that took place during my fieldwork started over a woman. Her husband had been very cruel to her, so the woman's brother, the headman of one of the villages north of Kąobawä's area, took her away from him by force. This enraged his entire following, which was considerably smaller than that of the wife's brother. A club fight temporarily settled the dispute, but the smaller of the groups was thoroughly trounced by the followers of the wife's brother. They challenged their adversaries to a spear fight and notified them they were going to return with reinforcements.

The woman over which the dispute began then ran away from her brother and rejoined her husband. But the die was cast and the fight was now a matter of pride, the

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 122]

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

original cause being quite irrelevant. Each of the principals in the dispute busily recruited aid from their allies. Kąobawä's group sent a delegation of young men to the village that took the woman away from the cruel husband.

When the cruel husband's incensed group and their allies arrived, about a week after the challenge, they entered their opponent's village and drove them out in a hail of spears. Many of them were wounded superficially, but one old man, not able to dodge missiles as well as he used to, suffered a bad wound and subsequently died. The victors stole all the hammocks, machetes, and cooking pots they could find and fled. The losers regrouped and gave chase, this time intending to escalate the fight to shooting. Some of them tied pieces of steel to their spears to make them more effective.

They caught up to the victorious group and another spear fight took place. This time tempers grew hot because one man in each of the fighting groups had managed to borrow a shotgun from the missionaries associated with the respective villages; these were repeatedly discharged over the heads of the fighters. The Yąnomamö had deceived the missionaries into loaning them two guns on the pretext of getting fresh game for the mission personnel. One of the shotgun-wielding Indians, standing at the front of his group, was struck by two sharpened spears. At this, he discharged his shotgun into the face of the headman of the other group, terminating the fight. The wounded man nearly died from the blast, but after many months of nursing by the missionaries he managed to recover. He still carries several balls of lead in his face.[1] Thereafter, the two groups were at war and raided each other with the intention of killing.

The Raid and Nomohoni

The raid is the next level in the scale of violence; this is warfare proper. The objective of the raid is to kill one or more of the enemy and flee without being discovered. If, however, the victims of the raid discover their assailants and manage to kill one of them, the campaign is not considered to be a success, no matter how many people the raiders may have killed before sustaining their single loss. Rerebawä told me of a raid he went on several years before I arrived. They managed to kill the headman of the village they raided, abduct his small son, and kill one more man as he fled to the village to recruit help. They were chased, but kept ahead of their pursuers for almost two days. Their pursuers caught up with them after dark on the second day and attacked them while they slept. They killed one man in his hammock, but in so doing, alarmed the others. A skirmish between the two groups developed, and the raiders managed to kill two more of their enemy in this struggle. Still, according to Rerebawä, the raid was not a good one because one of their own men was killed. The son of the slain headman was later shot by Torokoiwä, who presently lives in Monou-teri. The little boy was persecuted and tormented by the other children. Finally, Torokoiwä got sick of seeing this, so he shot the little boy as he was bathing in the stream.

[1]The members of two villages in contact with the missions occasionally borrow shotguns from the missionaries. The missionaries are very cautious about loaning the Yąnomamö firearms, knowing that these would be used in the wars. Shotguns are beginning to be rather common in Brazilian Yąnomamö villages, as the Indians there now have opportunities to make contacts with settlers and backwoodsmen and do not have to rely on missionaries for these weapons. This, however, is a recent development. Brazilian Yąnomamö, armed with these shotguns, have raided into Venezuela against villages that have not yet had any contact with outsiders.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Although few raids are initiated solely with the intention of capturing women, this is always a desired side benefit. A few wars, however, are started with the intention of abducting women. I visited a village in Brazil in 1967 that had a critical shortage of women. A group of missionaries had moved into this village a few years earlier and learned of the treachery by which the group managed to obtain a number of their women. One of them gave me this account. The headman of the group organized a raiding party to abduct women from a distant group. They went there and told these people that they had machetes and cooking pots from the foreigners, who prayed to a spirit that gave such items in answer to the prayers. They then volunteered to teach these people how to pray. When the men knelt down and bowed their heads, the raiders attacked them with their machetes and killed them. They captured their women and fled.

Treachery of this kind, the *nomohoni*, is the ultimate form of violence. Kąobawä's group suffered a massacre in 1950, as I have mentioned earlier, but the treachery in this case was in revenge for a murder. Still, their assailants attempted to abduct women after the objectives of their treachery were accomplished. Had it not been for their greed to capture women, the massacre would have been even more complete. Many escaped because the assailants turned their attention to the women.

Generally, however, the desire to abduct women does not lead to the initiation of hostilities between groups that have had no history of mutual raiding in the past. New wars usually develop when charges of sorcery are leveled against the members of a different group. Once raiding has begun between two villages, however, the raiders all hope to acquire women if the circumstances are such that they can flee without being discovered. If they catch a man and his wife at some distance from the village, they will more than likely take the woman after they kill her husband. If, however, the raiders are near the village, they may flee without dragging a captured woman along, as the body of their victim will be discovered quickly and pursuit will be immediate. Hence, they do not take a chance on hindering their flight by dragging a reluctant captive with them. A captured woman is raped by all the men in the raiding party and, later, by the men in the village who wish to do so but did not participate in the raid. She is then given to one of the men as a wife. If the captured woman is related to her captors, she is not raped.

Most wars are merely a prolongation of earlier hostilities, stimulated by revenge motives. The first causes of hostilities are usually sorcery, murders, or club fights over women in which someone is badly injured or killed. Occasionally, food theft involving related villages also precipitates raiding. This was the cause of the first raids between Kąobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri; they split from each other after a series of club fights over women. Each group made a new garden and returned periodically to the old one to collect peach-palm fruit, a crop that continues to produce long after the garden itself has gone to weeds. Someone stole the peach-palm fruit belonging to a man in the other group, resulting in another food theft for revenge, a club fight, and then raiding, but it should be pointed out that the raiding came about only after a long history of disputes between the groups; food theft was merely the catalyst that finally initiated the hostilities.

The Yąnomamö themselves regard fights over women as the primary causes of their wars. I was in one of the more remote villages in 1967, visiting with people I had met on my first field trip. The headman of the village, Säsäwä, coveted my British commando knife and kept begging me to give it to him. He wanted me to tell him all about the knife, its origin, history, and how often it had been exchanged in trades. When I told

him that it was used by people of my "group" when they went on raids against their enemies, his interest shifted to our military exploits.

"Who did you raid?" he asked.

"Germany-teri."

"Did you go on the raid?"

"No, but my father did."

"How many of the enemy did he kill?"

"None."

"Did any of your kinsmen get killed by the enemy?"

"No."

"You probably raided because of woman theft, didn't you?"

"No."

At this answer he was visibly disturbed. He chatted for a moment with the others, seeming to doube my answer.

"Was it because of witchcraft?" he then asked.

"No," I replied again.

"Ah! Someone stole cultivated food from the other!" he exclaimed, citing confidently the only other incident that is deemed serious enough to provoke man to wage war.

Perhaps the best way to illustrate Yąnomamö warfare, its causes, and the techniques of raid is to give a history of the recent military activities of Monou-teri, a small village that split away from Kąobawä's group in the mid-1950s.

A Specific War

The headman of the village, whom I shall call Damowä (since he was recently killed by raiders), was a particularly aggresive man. According to Rerebawä, Damowä was the only fierce man in the entire village, the true *unitwi* (fierce one) of the group.

Damowä had a habit of seducing the wives of other men, a factor that led to frequent feuding in the village and resulted in a number of club fights. Of the numerous affairs he had, two in particular illustrate the nature of possible consequences. His youngest brother was married to an abducted Shamatari girl. Damowä seduced her, thereby enraging his brother. The young man was afraid to vent his anger on the real culprit, his brother, so, instead, he shot his wife with an arrow. He intended only to wound her, but the arrow struck her in a vital spot and she died.

Manasinawä, a man of some fifty-five years at the present time, joined Damowä's group with his wife and young daughter. He fled from his own village in order to take refuge in a group that was raiding his own village, as he wanted to get revenge against them for a wrong they had committed. Damowä, who already had several wives, decided to take Manasinawä's wife from him and add her to his own family. This resulted in the final club fight that led to the separation of Kąobawä's group from the Monou-teri. Manasinawä's wife took the daughter and fled to yet another village. Kąobawä then organized a raid to recover the woman and child when their protectors refused to give them back. The two were taken by force from this group by Kąobawä's raiders. Nobody

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

was killed in the incident. Manasinawä, his wife, and his daughter remained with Kaobawä's group, and he ultimately gave the daughter to Kaobawä for a second wife. Kaobawä still has her.

At this time, the groups, of Damowä and Kaobawä, respectively, were still at war with the Patanowä-teri, from whom they separated some fifteen years earlier. Damowä's group, after separating from Kaobawä's, attempted to make peace with the Patanowä-teri, as they were now vulnerable and could ill afford to remain on hostile terms with them. Damowä's group also made an alliance with the two Shamatari villages, which had given them cooperation when they staged the revenge treacherous feast discussed in the last chapter. For about five years relationships between Damowä's group and the Patanowä-teri were relatively amicable, but as the former's alliances with the Shamatari grew in strength, their relationship to the Patanowä-teri grew cool once again.

The Patanowä-teri then became embroiled in new wars with several villages on the Orinoco River and turned to Kaobawä's group for aid, hoping to patch up their old grievances and remain at peace. The first day I began my fieldwork marked the initiation of complete peace between Kaobawä's group and the Patanowä-teri: They were having a feast together in Bisaasi-teri. Damowä's group, the Monou-teri, were not participating in the feast, but a large number of men came anyway. They discovered a group of seven Patanowä-teri females outside the main village and could not resist the temptation: They forcefully took them back to Monou-teri. Later that day the Patanowä-teri men discovered that the women were missing, so they searched the neighborhood and found the tracks of the Monou-teri men at the site of the abduction, where signs of struggling abounded. The next morning they went to Monou-teri armed with clubs: They were bound to get their women back, but did not care to start another shooting war with the Monou-teri. They took five of the women away from the Monou-teri in a heated struggle, but had to pull back without the remaining two, unless they were willing to shoot to kill: The Monou-teri were determined to keep the other women at all costs.

The significance of this incident is this: The headman of Monou-teri realized that the Patanowä-teri would not risk getting into a shooting war with them since they already had more enemies than they could comfortably handle. Hence, this provided an excellent opportunity for the Monou-teri to abduct women with relatively little chance of getting shot in retaliation.

Damowä, the headman of Monou-teri, was angry because the Patanowä-teri had recovered so many of their women. He then threatened to ambush the Patanowä-teri when they left for home after the feast at Bisaasi-teri was over. The Patanowä-teri, in view of this, cut their stay short and left for home before the feast was over, hoping to avoid trouble with the Monou-teri.

Damowä was not satisfied, however, that he forced the Patanowä-teri to capitulate, leave for home, and not attempt to recover the two remaining women. He decided to raid them. In January of 1966 he and a party of men from Monou-teri raided the Patanowä-teri at the latter's village. They caught Bosibrei climbing a *ruiba* tree, a prickly, cultivated palm that must be climbed slowly and with the aid of a pair of moveable stick frames in order to avoid getting pierced by the needle-sharp thorns that protrude from the tree's trunk (see Fig. 2-6). Bosibrei was almost to the top of the tree when the raiders caught him—he made an excellent target silhouetted against the sky. They shot and killed him with one volley of arrows as he reached for the fruits of the palm. One of

Bisaasi-teri, for example, wanted to get rid of the Monou-teri, they would hold a feast in their honor. When the going-home food was presented to them, they had no alternative but to leave. It would have been insulting to remain after the food was presented. In between their moves they returned to their own producing site to collect plantains and carry them to their new garden. They subsisted there off the food they carried with them.

The Monou-teri soon resented being treated like pariahs by their allies and began to regain their courage. Much of this treatment was due to the fact that they failed to chase the raiders when Damowã was slain, displaying cowardice instead of ferocity. Many of the men in the Bisaasi-teri groups resented the Monou-teri for this and were not timid about displaying their disgust. The Monou-teri were a burden, as they rarely helped at expanding Bisaasi-teri's gardens and ate a good deal of the time.

The raid Kąobawã organized to revenge Damowã's death took place late in April. The Shamatari allies—Mõmaribõwei-teri and Reyabõwei-teri—were invited to participate, but they failed to send a contingency. As allies never really trust each other, the raid was delayed because some of the Bisaasi-teri suspected that their allies were waiting for the raiders to leave so that they could descend on the poorly protected women and make off with captives. Finally, a few of them did arrive and the *waya itou* (warrior line-up) got under way. Still, the Bisaasi-teri feared treachery on the part of their Shamatari friends, so the men of Lower Bisaasi-teri decided to stay home and protect the women left behind by the Monou-teri and Upper Bisaasi-teri raiders. A small feast was held to entertain the visiting Shamatari allies.

On the afternoon of the feast a grass dummy was set up in the village, and the men who were to participate in the raid conducted a mock attack on the dummy, which was supposed to represent the body of a Patanowã-teri man. They painted themselves black, crept slowly around the village with bows and arrows ready, searching for the tracks of the enemy. They converged at one point, spread out, crept toward the dummy, and, at Kąobawã's signal, let fly with a volley of arrows. The Yąnomamõ are good archers. None of the arrows missed its mark, and the dummy, looking like a pincushion, toppled ominously to the ground, a dozen or more bamboo-tipped arrows protruding from it. Then the raiders screamed and ran out of the village, simulating their retreat from the enemy. They drifted back into the village, one at a time or in small groups, and retired to their hammocks to wait for darkness.

The village became unusually quiet shortly after dark. Suddenly, the stillness was pierced by an animal-like noise, half-scream and half-growl, as the first raider marched slowly out to the center of the village, clacking his arrows against his bow, growling his individualized fierce noise, usually a mimic of a carnivore: a wasp, or a buzzard. At this signal—not knowing fully what to expect and a little nervous—I crept from my own hammock and went to the center of the village with my tape recorder. The other raiders joined the first man, coming one at a time after short intervals, each clacking his arrows and growling some hideous noise. Kąobawã stood by and made sure the line was straight and faced the direction of the enemy; he would push or pull the individual warriors until they formed a perfectly straight line, joining them after the last one took his place.

The procession to the line-up took about twenty minutes, as about 50 or so men participated (see Fig. 5-2). When the last one was in line, the murmurs among the

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

he was not enthusiastic about going on the raid, despite the fact that he lectured the younger members of the raiding party about their overt reluctance and cowardice. He was older, however, and had to display the ferocity that adult men are supposed to show. In short, although Hukoshikuwä probably had very little desire as an individual to participate in the raiding, he was obliged to do so by the pressures of the entire system. He could ill afford to remain neutral, as his very own kinsmen-even Kaobawä-implied by word and action that it was disgusting for him not to avenge the death of his brother; and some of his kinsmen in other villages openly accused him of cowardice for not chasing the raiders when they shot Damowä. Again, his erstwhile allies, when they complained about having to feed him and his relatives, were blunt and discourteous. The Shamatari allies even managed to demand a number of women from Hukoshikuwä's group in payment for girls they had given them earlier, when the Monou-teri were superordinate in the alliance pecking order. In short, if Hukoshikuwä failed to put on a show of ferocity and vindictiveness, it would not be long before his friends in allied villages would be taking even greater liberties and demanding more women. Thus, the system worked against him and demanded that he be fierce. Since his own group was small, it had to protect its sovereignty even more rigorously, or be absorbed by a greedy ally whose protection would be tendered at the price of women.

Hukoshikuwä and his raiders did not locate the Patanowä-teri on this raid, although they searched for over a week. They knew it would be difficult to find them in the rainy season, largely because they would have to take many detours around impassable swamps. It was with this in mind that they brought their larger-than-usual supply of plantains.

The war was still being conducted, but on a lesser scale, when I returned to Monou-teri a year later. They had managed to kill two Patanowä-teri and abduct two women. The Patanowä-teri only killed one Monou-teri, the headman. Hence, the Monou-teri, at least for the time being, came out ahead. The Patanowä-teri will not cease raiding them until they kill at least one more Monou-teri but then the Monou-teri will be obliged to avenge this death when it occurs.

There will probably be a respite to the raiding because the Patanowä-teri group fissioned and subsequently lost a significant fraction of their numbers. The Monou-teri have completed their move to the new garden and now live there. If the raiding stops, they will be able to live alternatively between their two gardens at any season. Otherwise, they can only occupy their old site in the peak of the wet season. Having two gardens makes them more independent of their allies, and they can again be aggressive in their political dealings with them. Since they have exchanged women with one of their Shamatari allies and are now living only a half-day's journey from them, they most likely will bind their political fate to the fate of this ally. Their relationships to the two Bisaasi-teri groups, on the other hand, will probably grow cool. Already, the Monou-teri have taken sides with their Shamatari allies in club fights against the Upper Bisaasi-teri, and they still resent the fact that the Lower Bisaasi-teri forcefully took one of the abducted Patanowä-teri women away from them. Despite the fact that the Monou-teri share a common history and common blood with the two Bisaasi-teri groups, they are now entering into a political situation that frequently leads such related groups to mutual hostilities.

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11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

Here, he intended to make a bark canoe and float the rest of the way back down, but they located a dugout canoe someone had concealed,[3] so they borrowed this and reached home about dark, three days after Shararaiwã had been bitten. He survived the snake bite, but Kaobawã was very exhausted from the trip.

That night an advance party of the raiders returned, chanted briefly with Kaobawã, explaining that they had reached Patanowã-teri, shot and killed one man, and fled. The Patanowã-teri pursued them, got ahead of them at one point, and ambushed them when they passed. They wounded Konoreiwã of Monou-teri, shooting a bamboo-tipped arrow completely through his chest just above his heart.

The next morning the main body of raiders returned to the village, carrying Konoreiwã with them in a litter. They had removed the arrow, but he was very weak and continuously coughed up mouthfuls of blood. They put him in a hammock and tended his fire for him. They asked me to treat his wound.

He lay in his hammock for a week, not eating or drinking all that time—the Yanomamö have a taboo against taking water when wounded with a bamboo-type arrow, and Konoreiwã was slowly wasting away. Finally, I could stand it no longer and made a batch of lemonade. I called for them to gather around, ceremoniously crushed an aspirin into the lemonade, and explained that this was very powerful medicine. So powerful that it had to be diluted with a large amount of water. I then demanded that he take some, which he gladly did, the others not interfering. By then he was so weak that he could not sit up, so I spoon-fed the liquid to him. A knowing glance passed between us as he gulped down the first spoonful of sweet liquid. He ultimately recovered.

The two men who shot the fatal arrows into the Patanowã-teri were both brothers of the slain Damowã. They were killers and had to purify themselves by going through the *unokaimou* ceremony.

They were given spaces in Kaobawã's *shabono* for their hammocks. The area each man occupied was sealed off from the adjoining houses by palm leaves, and the men had their food brought to them for the week they were confined to this small area. They each used a pair of sticks to scratch their bodies and did not touch the food with their fingers when they ate, again using sticks to transfer the food from the container to their mouths.

At the end of their confinement, the vine hammocks they used while they were on the raid, along with the scratching sticks, were taken out of the village and tied to a particular kind of tree. The hammocks were placed about 6 feet above the ground and separated from each other by about 1 foot. After this was done, the men resumed their normal activities.

Kaobawã felt that he had satisfied his obligation to avenge Damowã's death. The Monou-teri, however, wanted to prosecute the war further and continue raiding. It was at this point that Paruriwã of Kaobawã's group began to emerge as one of the more prominent men in the village. He stepped forward and actively prosecuted the war against the Patanowã-teri, encouraged by the esteem in which the Monou-teri held him. Still, he was not enthusiastic enough for the Monou-teri. On one raid he subsequently led, he elected to turn back and go home when the Patanowã-teri were not found at their main garden. The Monou-teri insisted that the party should continue on until they

[3] The canoe was hidden in the brush by Kaobawã's son-in-law, who lives in a village up the Orinoco. He had come to Bisasi-teri that day to visit and hid his canoe so that the Bisasi-teri would not borrow it.

11: Chagnon E-5 (1964-1968) 1968 SQ18 Yanoama SQ18

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